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AMERICAN LABOR AND THE WAR

SAMUEL GOMPERS

AMERICAN LABOR AND THE WAR

BY

SAMUEL GOMPERS

President of the American Federation of Labor



NEW  YORK

GEORGE H. DORAN COMPANY

1639
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Printed in the United States of America



FER 26 1919

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FOREWORD

It will remain for history to furnish an adequate evaluation of the services rendered to the cause of world democracy by Samuel Gompers during the great war. But we need not await history's verdict to know that this service has been of the most vital importance. The profound impress Samuel Gompers has made upon the current of world affairs during the most crucial period in modern history is apparent to all who are informed even in a casual way about day-to-day events.

The labors of Mr. Gompers have been prodigious. In normal times his task was difficult enough. But when the United States entered the war his work was at once doubled and trebled and quadrupled. To his duties as president of the American Federation of Labor were added a multitude of duties in connection with war work—the great war work of the Federation itself, the post of chairman of the Committee on Labor, Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defense, president of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy, and membership on committees almost without end.

No man in America has more literally poured out the vital reserve of his spirit and physique than the leader of America's working men and women. His feeling toward the war is perhaps best

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expressed in one of his own sentences: "This is no longer a war; it is a crusade for human Freedom!" In that spirit of devoted abandon, he has driven on with his work in a manner that has amazed those closest to him—a silent drama of human effort and endurance.

Thus burdened with work—work which he loved because it was work for the common cause of humanity—he was of necessity also the voice of the cause for which he worked. America has known no firmer voice in the trying months that have passed. It has been a voice for democracy, a voice for freedom, and a voice stern and harsh in combating those insidious forces of pacifism and pro-Germanism that cropped up here and there in our midst as we struggled against the common enemy.

There are collected in this volume the principal addresses delivered by Mr. Gompers during the period of the great war, including the address delivered in the Chicago Auditorium before a magnificent audience representative of the whole nation upon his return from his remarkably successful tour of the Allied nations as chairman of an American Federation of Labor mission.

President Gompers is an extemporaneous speaker. He goes before his audiences with a message and he pours this message out in response to the inspiration of his audience. It is likely that this habit of speaking what comes to his mind on the platform, more than anything else, gives to his utterances that striking character that has made him a figure listened to with deepest attention wherever he appears in public.

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There is no man in America possessed of firmer conviction, and this deep conviction, molded into speech as he proceeds with his talk, makes these utterances the true reflection of the innermost thought.

It would not be possible to include between the covers of any one or two volumes all of the speeches and addresses and papers produced during the war by Mr. Gompers. They would fill a shelf—and yet he has spoken only when the occasion demanded; he has not had time to speak without necessity. But here are gathered those utterances that best show his trend of thought during the war. They have been compiled for this volume by his assistants, who prefer to remain anonymous, since they were merely the assemblers of the sheaves.

It has been thought wise to include in this volume a sufficient number of official American Federation of Labor documents to give the reader a complete story of the American labor position during the war. To that end, the pronouncements of the American Federation of Labor conventions, held during the great war, have been included as an appendix.

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Twentieth Century nations must adopt as a principle of government that peace is a basis of all civilization. Peace is not a by-product of other conditions, but it is a condition that can be secured by agents and institutions designed to maintain it. Peace is the fundamental necessity for all government and progress—industrial, intellectual, social and humanitarian. Without peace all these are as nothing. One of the main purposes of governments, then, must be the maintenance of international peace.

The workers of America have learned that unfreedom existing in any place under our government undermines and endangers the liberty of all. They have learned further that wherever oppression and unfreedom exist in the world, they threaten the freedom, the welfare and the peace of all other lands.

Labor Day at Plattsburg, N. Y., September 7th, 1914.

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THIS gathering is a part of a plan for the international celebration in various appropriate ways of the one hundred years of peace that have existed between the United States and Great Britain. Plattsburg was the battleground of one of the last decisive contests of the war we fought with England one hundred years ago, our second war for independence. By that war we established the dignity and the au-

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thority of our government in its contention for the rights of neutral nations.

The spirit of the revolution that had torn the very roots of feudalism loose from the soil of France, that had fired men's minds with big ideas and ideals—that spirit was of the immortal and could not die. Wherever the tricolor of the French republic was carried by its armies, there was carried the spirit of the revolution, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." Though modified and perverted by minds of those that could not understand its fullness and bigness because they had been born, educated, and had lived all their days under the influence of autocratic institutions, yet the virtue of hope was eternal in the watchward.

When the great war lord who had defended the French republic against the interference of the surrounding monarchs converted that republic into an empire and sought to extend its boundaries over half of Europe, the immortal spirit of liberty that inspired the revolution of 1789 was the spirit that actuated the tremendous resistance to the domination of Napoleon.

Europe was at war against the greatest war lord the world had ever known. Big issues had nerved the peoples of Europe to desperate undertakings. The principle of nationalism was on the balances. The United States was caught in the grip of a contest that was characterized by tremendous intensity of feeling and scope of purpose. Our seamen were impressed, our boats captured, our commerce despoiled. Though but a stripling of a nation we resented the insults and established our dignity and authority as a nation.

We meet here to-day in commemoration of one of

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the last battles of the war—a battle in which untrained American soldiers drove veterans from behind their breastworks. While we glory in the victory of our country, yet we glory more in the years of peace and friendly relations which that battle helped to make possible—we glory in the victories which the years of peace have brought us, in the ties of mutual welfare and co-operation and friendship that have bound our countries together.

It is peculiarly appropriate that Labor Day, the great national holiday of the masses of the people of America, should be in the week given to this celebration. This was an additional reason for pleasure and gratification in accepting an invitation to participate in this celebration as one of those to voice the national feeling at the close of this epoch devoted to the pursuits of peace, industry, commerce, humanitarian and social progress.

Labor Day is vitally associated with the interests of peace and the affairs of work and the common life. Labor Day is dedicated to the labor movement—the movement that was born of men's misery and necessity; it has been nurtured by their hopes and ideals; it has lifted from their backs weary burdens, thus enabling them to stand erect to look upward and onward. They have given it significance and value. Regular and fitting observances of it are necessary to keep fresh and vigorous the spiritual meanings of the day that give purpose and direction to the labor movement. The nature of the labor movement has made it a powerful influence in these hundred years of peace.

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Its existence and operation are dependent upon the maintenance of peace. It demands the establishment of justice and insists upon greater recognition of human rights. It seeks better understanding between all those engaged in industry—a necessary and a potential condition for peace.

By some strange chance of fortune, when the time for this celebration was near, when men's thoughts were of peace and the ways of peace, the countries of the western civilization are suddenly plunged into a titanic struggle, a stupendous death grapple for existence with weapons so deadly that human lives are being spent with mad extravagance. Civilization had been pressing home the sacredness of human life upon the consciences of men. Knowledge had concerned itself with the problems of life that men might know themselves and the world in which they live in order to gain better mastery over the elements and conditions. Science had sought to wrest from nature understanding of life that men might have life more abundantly. It had studied the nature and causes of disease in order to conserve and safeguard human life. Trained minds were delving deep into the secrets of physical forces to bring them under the control of the will of mankind. They harnessed the waters and the winds to the wheels of civilization. Minds rich in culture and love of humanity were studying the ills of society that every child might have the right to be well-born, to develop its full physical stature, and to cultivate its mental and moral possibilities. In all things the purpose of civilization has been to glorify and enrich the lives of the people—all of the people.

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There were minds that were just upon the verge of giving the world the rich harvest of years of thought and study. There were hearts disciplined by life and understanding that were ready to interpret the beauty and the truth of life in the world's poetry. There were souls that were ready to voice the heart of things in music. There were fingers whose skill could interpret life on immortal canvases. There were the yeomanry in the fields, the factories, and the workshops giving all that was of value in muscle and in mind to the production of things necessary for the maintenance of life and civilization. These—all these—are sacrificed to the service of the war lords. In a mad moment the countries of Europe are savagely condemning to terrible suffering and hardships and almost certain death these lives and talents that have been saved, cultivated and enriched at the expense of so much thought and effort. Bodies that have been protected by sanitary regulations secured after long, hard struggles; muscles and minds conserved by short work-days; young men that represent so much in sacrifices, in aspirations and possibilities, are now part of the marvelous machinery of war and devastation. Can this be our boasted civilization? Can this be the Europe of which Tennyson sang: "Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay"?

War with its bloodshed and mangled flesh is a terrible thing. There is not a man marching or fighting now in the battalions of Europe who does not abhor cruelty and savagery. Yet let us not for an instant forget the whirl and the thrill of war, the compelling magnetism that attracts all to war even while it re-

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pels ; the wonderful emotion that leaps to life in men when the fatherland is in danger ; that subordinates all else to the high allegiance of service to country ; the thrill and the wonder of it all as men lay aside personal interests for the common welfare ; the bravery of it that goes straight to the heart. All these things steel men to hazard the horrors of war, and yet, is this tremendous European war a war for the fatherland, or is it not rather a war of aggrandizement and conquest ? A war to divert the peoples from their constructive work of humanizing and democratizing tendencies ?

This stupendous conflict has shaken to its very foundations the structure of civilized society the world round. We of the United States have felt the pinch of it. We have had to adjust sharply to meet emergency conditions. World civilization is organized on an international basis. Civilization is based upon co-operation. Markets are supplied from international sources. Buyers come from all countries. Prices are fixed by international forces. Money, the medium for facilitating this exchange, responds to international influence. All supply and demand problems are now world-wide in scope. No nation lives unto itself alone. The problems of each nation are the common problems of humanity.

Means of communication and transmission of information are and must be international in order to be of value. All countries of the world are bound together by ties of common interests in industry and commerce, mutual needs and interdependence.

The big things of life and civilization are international. There are no national lines recognized by knowl-

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edge. The fellow workers spirit that has prevailed among the toilers, the teachers, and the students of all lands has done much to break down national and racial prejudice. To their credit be it said that the organized bodies of labor and learning vehemently protested against this war. Organizations and associations for the promotion and propagation of welfare and of knowledge are international. Sociology, economics, medicine, hygiene, sanitation, recognize no territorial boundaries. Humanitarian movements to further social insurance, to guard against industrial diseases, to prevent unemployment, are and must be international in scope. The custom of international exchange of fraternal delegates, professors and students has a very potent influence in establishing world friendship and good will among the people of all nations—conditions which minimize the possibilities of war.

But political organization has ever been less flexible and less progressive than economic and social organization. Social and economic organization adapts itself necessarily to immediate needs and changes. Political organization is more artificial. Old forms are often retained so long that they are encrusted by a hard shell that permits of little development or change. Old forms generally become so rigid that they must be forcibly broken to readjust. This fact is illustrated by such organizations as the Hanseatic League of the fourteenth century, the Zollverein of the nineteenth century which was the prototype for the German empire, the commercial treaties and treaties of peace which bind together the republics of North and South

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America. Commercial necessity taught the thirteen states that the loose union under the Articles of Confederation must be welded into a strong national union under the Constitution. Preceding commerce must be the development of agriculture and industry within the different countries—these embody the brawn and the mentality of the toilers of the countries. Industry is the foundation of all civilization. The workers are the builders of civilization.

Commerce is the great civilizer and paves the way for great ideals, some social, some political. Wherever commerce travels there a higher law and more democratic political institutions follow. As commerce became nation-wide, government became national in scope. Now that commerce has grown to world dimensions, government too must attain corresponding proportions.

Government must be founded upon justice and morality. In ancient societies individuals undertook to enforce their own claims to justice and standards of morality. Each had the right to private warfare. With the development of society the duty of maintaining justice and peace was delegated to governmental agencies. The maintenance of justice and peace between nations is now emerging from the same chaotic conditions which formerly characterized the relations between individuals. There are evidences which intimate that intelligence will emerge out of this chaos—international solidarity of labor, international law, treaties of peace and commerce, arbitration treaties, The Hague Tribunal. With these accumulating institutions to bind the nations together, there is de-

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veloping a code of international morality and a habit of mind necessary to enforce standards of international morality upon all.

These things are the rudiments from which will emerge a world government, a world federation competent to do justice between nations and able to maintain the peace of the world. That is the ideal we must seek to realize, which we must establish in the day of peace that we may dispel the war clouds ere the storm of conflict is upon us. War can be abolished only by eternal vigilance in protecting peace and in promoting the things that make for peace. Peace and the things associated with peace must be made of such value that men will not dare risk them to chances and the havoc of war.

It is in accomplishing this end that the men and women of labor have been most effective. Their interests are identified with those of peace. War has never meant to them opportunity for gain or exploitation. It has always meant to them privation, direst suffering, service on the firing line and in the actual fighting of the war, and bearing the burdens that follow in its wake. The heavy weight of the burdens of war has compelled the toilers to realize the futility and the wanton waste of war. Military agencies maintained during time of peace have been used against them in their industrial struggle to secure greater consideration and justice. They set their hands against policies and conditions that have a tendency to promote war and have worked to create a sentiment hostile to war and the methods of war.

Through organization and federation the toilers

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have made their influence felt in the determination of national and international issues. The international organization of the workers has made the brotherhood and fellowship of all men a real force potential in the affairs of the nations. Solid opposition of the working people has acted as a steadyng force in many crises and a deterrent against aggression. Organized labor stands firmly against all injustice and oppression of the weak regardless of nationality. The workers have helped to construct the world's civilization and we demand that the results of their labor shall be protected. By our protests and by our demands we have widened the thoughts and the sympathies of men; we have given to the world's conception of life understanding and reality. Our position is justified by years of burden-bearing, by weary muscles and dreary hearts. We have known the bitterness of the dark places of life and are determined to make them brighter and better. Working people have bought with their flesh and blood the right to a voice in determining the issues of peace and war.

Our position can not be interpreted to mean lack of patriotism. We could not love our country so well, loved we not peace and honor more. The workers of America love their land. We reverence her good name, her dignity, her authority. There is no sight under heaven that so moves us and thrills us, and arouses our deepest emotions as the Stars and Stripes waving in the wind against the wonderful blue of the heavens. Would we fight for them? Yea, we would lay down our lives because of the great ideal which they typify. The flag stands for America, the cradle

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of liberty and freedom. It stands for the ideal of equal opportunity for all. Often we have blindly groped after that ideal—but it is that for which we reach; it is that which we shall have.

Our Republic, founded upon principles of justice and equality, has inspired men of all lands. As out in the west arose our noble structure men weighed down by despotism, chained to burdens imposed by a specially privileged class, have watched with eager, anxious longing as we builded wider and higher the noble structure. They have seen it weather storms undaunted. They have seen and turned with hope-filled eyes to the problem of their own lands, determined that those of their fatherland should enter into the noblest heritage of mankind—freedom of mind and body.

America has been the inspiration of years—it is the hope of the present. Separated by the breadth of an ocean from other countries that have entrusted to their hands western civilization, America has held aloof from the plots and machinations by which the countries of Europe have heaped burdens on the backs of each other and have crushed their own people. Calm, free, unperturbed by old-world political jealousies and cut-throat policies, we have been working out the problems of human freedom. We have welcomed to our fold the strangers from all lands who have sought here opportunity and freedom.

One hundred years ago, when the gigantic ambition and the sleepless energy of the great Napoleon had hurled down all the old political institutions of western Europe and had fomented wars and strife between

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nations, we sought to maintain the dignity and the rights of a neutral nation.

When they were denied us, we fought for them and won. During the hundred years that have elapsed between that last European cataclysm and this one, we have grown from an infant nation into the full stature and might of a world power. Our beautiful land is one vast unbroken expanse, washed on both sides by oceans that separate yet connect us with the old worlds. We have delved deep into the riches of our country. We have built mighty factories and industries. We have sent the products of our hands and minds to all markets of the world. With it all and in it all we have tried to carry the ideal of human freedom and equality of opportunity. We have not always succeeded in that. But we have tried. We have succeeded in some things—that is our worth to the millions who are striving for some degree of liberty and democracy.

In this colossal horror that has befallen the peoples of Europe the eyes and hopes of all turn to America for sustaining aid. Our thoughts are of that America. Our fervent desire is that she may prove herself worthy of the great service that lies ahead of her. Our President has perfectly worded the desire of all citizens in these words:

My thought is of America. I am speaking, I feel sure, the earnest wish and purpose of every thoughtful American that this great country of ours, which is of course the first in our thoughts and in our hearts, should show herself in this time of peculiar trial a nation fit beyond others to exhibit the fine poise of undisturbed judgment, the dignity of self-control, the efficiency of dispassionate action, a na-

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tion that neither sits in judgment upon others nor is disturbed in her own counsels and which keeps herself fit and free to do what is honest and disinterested and truly serviceable for the peace of the world.

While all the other great countries of the world have halted the normal interests of life, while their citizens have laid aside things which are of personal concern to respond to the stirring call of an instinct that is noble and great—the love of country—while the terror and the horror and the grandeur of war fill men's thoughts, America alone maintains her wonted peace and friendliness toward all mankind.

Though our people came from the nations that are fighting the most terrible war of all history, though our hearts are very tender with sympathy, though we thrill with the bigness and the courage of it, though we shudder at the horror and the waste of it, not one wishes to see America drawn into this bloody battle of the nations. Dazed by the suddenness of this unthinkable horror, with eagerness born of pain, we seek tidings of the stupendous armies that are measuring every step of progress with mangled things that once were men and are marking each halting place with blood. Over and over we ask, Why, Why?

As we look backward over the hundred years since the last Waterloo, we find some of the fundamental causes that inevitably lead to the apparently insufficient incidents that occasioned the war. When the allies met in Vienna to consider what disposition to make of the boundaries and governments that the Napoleonic empire had swept away, they inaugurated a period of reaction. They opposed constitutionalism

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and re-established autocracy under "legitimate" rulers. They safeguarded legitimacy by the mysterious something that has for centuries been the bane of Europe, the "Balance of Power." The decisions, political and geographic, of the Congress of Vienna, were arbitrary and artificial as well as reactionary. In order to maintain these findings the rulers of European countries found it expedient to depend upon the protection of militarism. National militarism resulted of course in international competitive militarism.

But the spirit of "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," that inspired the French Revolution, that had been carried to other countries by the French tricolor, and that had swept aside and made impossible the remnants of feudalism, did not die. It smouldered under the crust of reactionism. The spirit that sought and demanded freedom and democracy was quietly working in the schools and in the common life of the working people. It broke out in the revolutions of 1830 and '48 and in the war of 1870. The autocratic governments set up by the reactionary Congress of Vienna were artificial in nature, founded upon and protecting artificial distinctions and regulations. Power was concentrated in the hands of a few who were selected upon no logical basis. The many were subordinated to this despotism—though governed they were given no voice in determining the methods, the agents or the policies of the government. That government may be likened unto a pyramid with an irresponsible agent at its apex in control of all converging powers.

Such government could not stand the tests of reason or of justice. The forces of democracy made inva-

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sion after invasion, securing some degree of control, but the agent at the apex remained irresponsible and in his hands was placed determination of the destinies of the people.

No one man is good enough or wise enough to be entrusted with the determination of peace and war for millions of fellow-men. No one man has the right to command fellow-men unless he has been entrusted with that power by the deliberate decision of the people.

But democracy has been making headway and gaining recognition in Europe. Through organization the workers have secured real freedom in the affairs of the work-a-day world. They have secured for themselves protection by law. The present government does not meet the needs or the demands of the people. But the enemies of democracy were planning the destruction of forces that were democratizing the laws and the government.

The war that was declared bears most heavily upon the workers of Europe—they make up the rank and file of the armies; they endure the greatest hardships both at home and on the battlefield. If they live they will go home to find that they must begin all over again. The work of years will have been swept away. Savings, trade organizations, trade benefits, economic power—all will have vanished as the flowers of the fields.

Regardless of what may be the outcome of the war even the most inadequate attempt to picture conditions in those war-devastated countries causes one to grow sick at heart and mind. Suffering piled upon

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suffering; woe upon woe; horror upon horror. Picture if you can the Belgium over which armies have fought—Belgium that has been ravaged and burned and soaked in human blood. Picture a land with her industry and commerce destroyed and the flower of her young manhood slain in a needless and murderous war. Think of the starved minds and bodies of the women and children and old men—think of the natures warped and embittered by suffering and injustice. For decades and for decades the blight of this war will cast its shadow upon that land.

As for Germany, the devastating blight that followed in the trail of the Thirty Years' War will be but as the shadow in comparison with the terrible reality of the loss of her millions of young men in this carnage of unparalleled savagery. For the genius and power of trained minds have been prostituted to the service of war until now it is nothing but organized machine slaughter. Think of the artificial barbarous conditions existing under which men seriously assert that the holding of a particular geographic position by guns and armed forces is worth a million lives! Worth a million lives—think of the meaning of a million lives. Think of the power of a million minds. That the gaining of a single city is worth a million men is an assertion of strange values. What manner of civilization is this that assigns values with such barbarous disregard for human lives?

Whatever may be the outcome of the inevitable Waterloo that will close the conflict that is so incredibly brutal and stupid, may those who shall be charged with the responsibility of determining the terms of

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peace see the sorrowing faces and hear the lonely voices of the children and the helpless old, may they heed the lives of the young men wasted or sacrificed, may they have understanding hearts to learn the infinite wrongs of war.

If there be any value in civilization, if there be any efficacy in humanity, if there be any meaning in the brotherhood of man, they will learn, and out of the chaos and carnage shall come the vanquishment of autocracy, the emergence of a society in which the people shall be supreme and in which men's thought shall be given to the things of peace.

In the general reorganization that will follow, the workers must have voice and influence. That voice and that influence have ever been used for liberty, justice, and humanity. Though the workers have again and again suffered from the mistakes and the wrongdoings of others, whenever the opportunity has been afforded they have ever evolved something for the betterment of humanity and the establishment of justice.

When the time comes to determine the terms of peace for the present conflict all artificial standards and ideals must be swept aside. The only result that could in any degree compensate for the present destruction of life would be the coeval destruction of militarism, autocracy, the fetish of the balance of power and the fallacy that political domination must follow industrial relations and control. If the Waterloo that shall close this war shall be the death field for these ghosts that have come down to us from stages of the earlier development of peoples, then some pro-

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gress shall have been attained even though the method be cruel, stupid and blundering.

Twentieth century nations must adopt as a principle of government that peace is a basis of all civilization. Peace is not a by-product of other conditions, but it is a condition that can be secured by agents and institutions designed to maintain it. Peace is the fundamental necessity for all government and progress—industrial, intellectual, social and humanitarian. Without peace all these are as nothing. One of the main purposes of governments then must be the maintenance of international peace.

The nations of Europe have professed to desire peace but their methods of securing it have been wrong. They have declared that they must be armed for peace. They have erected fortifications along their frontiers—for peace. The seas and their coastlines have been patrolled by fleets—for peace. They have constructed air fleets to infest the air—for peace. Their inventive skill has been used to perfect diabolical instruments for destroying human life—for peace.

Truly a strange peace they hunted with these war-like manners and means.

If your neighbor filled his pockets with guns and his yard with mines, would you charge him with zeal for maintaining the neighborhood peace?

Quite in contrast with conditions in Europe is the relation that exists between the United States and the country just beyond the horizon stretching far to the northward. Canada is a great and a rich country. Many of her industrial interests are identical with ours. Yet there never has been serious occasion for such sus-

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picious distrust or jealous rivalries as to threaten armed conflict. The two nations developed side by side and maintained peace without the need of competitive armament or display of force. Always there has been a policy of honesty and sanity. During the past one hundred years, the United States-Canadian border line has not been "defended" by fortifications, patrolled by military guards, our lakes and rivers have not been protected by dreadnaughts, submarines or mines, the air has not been infested with warlike aeroplanes and dirigibles, and there have been neither wars nor rumors of wars. Had we been obsessed with the mad purpose of defense by militarism, could the result have been the same? What has been thoroughly tried and proved practical and desirable and has made for peace between the United States and Canada will be equally practical and desirable between other countries.

The revolutionary and reform movements of Europe have broken down in this overwhelming crisis that has befallen the countries of Europe. These movements have failed because they were organized primarily for the purpose of inculcating theory and not for the purpose of putting theories into force. Peace associations have concerned themselves principally with theories and pious hopes for peace between men. These associations stand humiliated by the war they were powerless to prevent. Future organizations for the promotion of peace will have to aim at policies and institutions to make peace a reality. Reform associations will have to organize upon the same basis of practical efficiency that has enabled autocracy to retain its hold upon governments. The few now dominate

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even against the will of the many. Are the many ready to confess that they can not manage their interests with the same wisdom and effectiveness? Labor, democracy, and social reform will find their opportunities in the overthrow of autocracy.

Just as the governing aristocracies have studied efficiency in attaining their purposes and in controlling the affairs of the country, so the people must perfect the agents and the methods of democracy. They must take in their own hands the ordering of their own lives and interests and insist that governments shall manage these things with justice and peace.

The maintenance of justice and peace is worthy of all the expenditure of thought and effort and skill that have been given to the arts of war. Furthermore, these ends can not be attained without such expenditure. The peace of the world will be determined by the decision of the nations.

In our own country the voice and the influence of the workers were used against the enslavement of human beings and they were potent in the years of struggle to free the four million negroes who were in bondage under the American flag. When Hawaii became an American possession the working people of America were the first to call attention to the wrongs of their fellow workers on the islands. To them is due the credit of abolishing there the practice of peonage and the institution of slavery. They performed the same service for the Philippine Islands. Co-operating with the workers of the islands in the Pacific, American workers helped to press home upon the consciences of those responsible for the enactment and

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the enforcement of laws the wrongs and the injustice done to those half barbaric helpless victims. Now slavery and peonage have been legally abolished in all lands that are ruled by our government.

When Porto Rico came under our control her people were still subject to Spanish laws that had prevailed in the island. Among them was a conspiracy law of the kind that has universally been used to prevent the working people from uniting and organizing to protect themselves from the greed and tyranny of employers. When Porto Rico came under the American flag Porto Rican workers, inspired by the American ideals of liberty, equality, and the right of each individual to self-development, associated themselves with the American labor movement for assistance in the hard work which lay before them—for the poverty, misery, and degradation of the Porto Rican workers can be realized only by those who have traveled through the island. The employers invoked the old Spanish conspiracy laws to imprison the leaders of labor organizations and to defeat the movement for the betterment of labor conditions.

The American Federation of Labor immediately responded to the call for aid in Porto Rico. We succeeded in securing the release of their labor leaders from prison and in securing the repeal of the conspiracy law, the most vicious and dangerous type of legislation that the workers have to face.

When the toilers of Mexico turned to the American labor movement for aid and sympathy in their struggle to free themselves from the bonds of peonage and land conditions that denied them opportunities for self-

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help, the American Federation of Labor presented their demands for the consideration of those who had the authority to decide the policies of the newly established government.

The workers of America have learned that unfreedom existing in any place under our government undermines and endangers the liberty of all. They have learned further that wherever oppression and unfreedom exist in the world they threaten the freedom, the welfare, and the peace of all other lands. That is the reason labor organizations have an international federation. That is the basis for our zeal for international peace.

The workers of America are organized to fight the battle for industrial freedom and justice. That purpose has made them an active force in all the diverse interests that influence our problem. One of the most significant fights we have been waging during the past years is the effort to establish a fundamental principle necessary for real freedom. Although slavery had everywhere in the United States been legally abolished, yet the workers found their effort for self-protection and self-help thwarted and restricted by legal precedents, judicial interpretation, and applications of laws dealing with property.

This was the influence of a philosophy evolved under conditions when workers were not free and their persons and hence their labor power were regarded legally as property in which their owners or employers had a property right. When the workers became physically free the traditional element in the law which concerned their labor power was unchanged. The ju-

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diciary looks backward for authority, not forward. It is necessary to change this legal philosophy in order to secure to workers the right to legitimate activities which alone give freedom reality and value. Freedom as an abstract declaration has little practical value. Real freedom, which consists in specific rights to do things, is the potent force that has brought the human race to its present state of progress and development.

A worker can not be part human and part thing; part free and part unfree. If he is a free human being that which is inseparable from his personality, which is part of his flesh and blood and nerve force, can not be classified as property. Employers may own plows, machines, shovels, hammers, but they do not own the labor of any free man. Labor is the creative force, the highest expression of individuality.

The Clayton antitrust bill that has been passed by the House of Representatives and the Senate declared as a legal principle of the law of our land: "THE LABOR POWER OF A HUMAN BEING IS NOT A COMMODITY OR AN ARTICLE OF COMMERCE." That is the reason for declaring that labor organizations do not come under the provisions of trust legislation and that their legitimate activities can not be restrained or forbidden. This principle is the basis upon which all industrial liberty depends. It is the Magna Carta of America's workers. The labor provisions of this measure embody the highest, fullest conception of industrial freedom ever enacted into law. The declaration contained in section 7 of the Clayton antitrust bill is of the greatest sig-

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nificance—it deals with the fundamentals of industrial freedom.

The workers of America may, on Labor Day, 1914, rejoice in the fact that the Senate and the House of Representatives have adopted the greatest measure of humanitarian legislation of the world's history. We stand foremost in the ranks of all nations. This measure will insure greater industrial justice and peace. It opens up an era of tremendous possibilities and undertakings for good.

Other features of the Clayton bill limit and regulate the issuance of the writ of injunction which has been so grossly perverted by judicial abuse to defeat the workers in their struggle for more just wages, shorter workdays, and better working conditions.

The enactment of this law will mark the beginning of an era of progress and betterment in the lives of those who work for wages. Their progress and welfare mean national progress and welfare. The hope and welfare of all nations is bound up with the destiny of America—the first great republic and now the country toward which the nations in distress are turning for help in their overwhelming need.

America with free institutions and opportunity for those of all walks of life has been an ideal and an inspiration to many millions. Now secure in her isolation and her maintenance of justice and freedom, apart, undeafened by the roar of musketry, unblinded by the smoke of battle, unshaken by the passion of the battlefields, she stands ready to hear the cries for mercy and fairness, ready to give her good offices for the establishment of peace. This is the America that holds

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our thought with a peculiar power. Great opportunity is now within her grasp. We desire for her wisdom that she may cleave to the part of a great people and may spurn the lesser things of selfish gain and passion.

America has in her hands well-nigh limitless wealth. She controls resources not yet realized. Her citizens, gathered from all of the nations of the earth, are true and able and honorable. Hers is the responsibility of using these, all these, for humanity—humanity that recognizes neither race nor nationality.

America is to become the clearing-house for all international intercourse. She has the opportunity to become the world's banker. She now becomes the world's greatest breadmaker. Her industries and manufactures alone remain undisturbed. She may become the world's great carrier of commerce. Her future depends upon how she uses this opportunity.

Her great power and influence are moral. Whether that power and influence shall be used as befits a great and a free people will determine her future greatness. That she may prove to the world that there is such a thing as international morality, and that she may help the warring nations back to a plane of peace and justice is the earnest desire of America's workers and all her citizens. Our hope-filled western skies are portentous with the bigness of freedom and the hope of humanity. We are confident of the coming of that period of which the poet sang:

Men my brothers, men the workers, ever reaping something new,
That which they have done but earnest of the things that
they shall do;

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For I dipt into the future far as human eye could see,
Saw the Vision of the world and all the wonder that would
be;

Saw the heavens fill with commerce, argosies of magic sails,
Pilots of the purple twilight, dropping down with costly
bales;

Heard the heavens fill with shouting, and there rain'd a
ghastly crew

From the nation's airy navies grappling in the central blue;

Far along the world-wide whisper of the south-wind rush-
ing warm,

With the standards of the peoples plunging thro' the thun-
der-storm;

Till the war drum throbbed no longer and the battle flags
were furled

In the parliament of man, the Federation of the world;

There the common sense of most shall hold a fretful realm
in awe,

And the kindly earth shall slumber lapt in universal law.

DEMOCRACY WITHOUT MILITARISM

The labor movement of the world is the one agency whose members have been loyal to fatherlands in the time of peril and yet have with insistent emphasis and appeal upheld the sacredness of human life and opportunity and the brotherhood of man. While bearing burdens of the war, they are still maintaining standards that dignify human life, and are creating and directing influences that will have an important part in establishing peace and in the constructive work which shall make for greater justice in international relations.

Before the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, Pa., April 30th, 1915.

WHEN men were thinking of international peace, secure in the conviction that there could never be another great war, suddenly all of the countries of western Europe were plunged into the most stupendous conflict the world has ever seen. The spirit of civilization had been brooding over the things of the common life, breathing into them an appreciation of the sacredness of human life. Civilization had been laying wise and skillful hands upon the forces of Nature to make them serve men, to promote their well-being and development.

Infinite patience, thought, skill, energy, had been busy in the task of finding some new thing to conserve and to glorify humanity. There were minds rich in culture, characters of infinite courage and hearts tender

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with love of human beings that counted all gain that brought opportunity into the lives of men—opportunity for physical, mental and moral health and development.

In the midst of all this came the fearful war cry. We of America, far removed from the sound of drums and the march of mobilization, looked at one another and murmured, "It can't be true!" Grim realization came as we felt the shock of the revolutionary changes that paralyzed industry.

The stupendous conflict shook to its foundations the structure of organized society. Industry and commerce are organized on a world basis. Markets have international sources of supply and they meet the demands of international buyers. The monetary mediums for international exchange are responsive to international influences. The intricate structure of credit extends its gossamer threads about all the markets and ports and bourses of the world. Supply and demand are estimated from a world viewpoint. Communication was organized to meet the needs of world commerce and industry.

When the disrupting forces of war hit the world structure of civilization, then did we in the United States realize that the war is a reality. Though far away from the bloodshed, from the horror of the maimed and the dead and dying, yet something of the brutalizing spirit of war extended even to our isolated continent.

Through no fault or act of theirs the working people of the United States have been made to feel the consequences of a war caused by the spirit of greed and

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aggrandizement on the part of irresponsible governmental agents. Autocracy, secret diplomacy, militarism, forced a war which brings grievous wrongs, losses and misery upon the wage workers of Europe—aye, which robs them of life itself—and which indirectly carries suffering and misery to the wage earners of all the world.

The European war ruthlessly reversed the purposes and the ideals of civilization. War is always revolutionary and destructive of life and civilization. The outbreak of this war dislocated American markets and trade.

The first stage following the cataclysmic struggle was one of stagnation. Business men, government officials, scientists, commercial and industrial associations considered carefully the conditions confronting them and estimated their needs and resources. The way problems have been solved and new opportunities utilized proves that Americans have qualities of adaptability and resourcefulness assuring continuous progress.

Necessity forces invention. American ingenuity and enterprise have not failed in this time of need. American industries find they can supply many of their needs and have found uses for what was formerly industrial waste. The war has opened up tremendous economic opportunities—some temporary, others permanent. After the first reaction came an industrial impetus. Business reached after new opportunities. American financial genius protected our own interests and made this the world's money center.

What has been done to meet industrial and financial

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emergencies and needs has been due chiefly to private initiative and private enterprise. It is the American characteristic—ability to do things—that has served us in this time of need. That American spirit of self-reliance and initiative is the most precious possession of the nation. It is the spirit that can dream and dare and achieve. It is invincible.

Now turn to the human side of adjustment to war conditions. Have the men and women employed in industry and commerce been as carefully and wisely provided for as material interests have been?

The first shock of the war which brought stagnation to industry resulted in the closing of shops, mills and docks and meant unemployment for wage earners. All along the Atlantic coast industry and commerce were dislocated; shipping was tied up; men found that the war had taken away their work, their source of livelihood. Their number was increased by the sailors from interned foreign vessels. Factories dependent upon European trade or products began to run part time and then stopped. During the period of readjustment many workers were without the means of earning their daily bread and they had but little laid aside. At the same time they were threatened with the menace of war prices. Six cent bread meant tragedy to east side New York and similar localities where wage earners live. The brutalizing spirit of war laid hands on American industry—workers were deprived of employment and were exploited by war prices which meant unwarrantable and exclusive advantages to the profit-mongers.

As the weeks went by the amount and extent of unemployment increased throughout the country. Un-

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employment means to most of you here an industrial and social problem—to the wage earners it is a personal experience. It means hunger, misery, despair. Bread lines have been very long during the past winter. Women as well as men have been in these bread lines. A bread line leaves an indelible scar on the hearts of those who have undergone the humiliation. It means that a human soul has been beaten in the struggle for decent self-respect.

Constructive efforts to meet this human need came from the workers. Wage earners are so close to the raw stuff of the experiences of the common struggle for a livelihood that they appreciate more keenly the meaning of unemployment and they know that their own well-being is very intimately involved. Unemployment in some callings means increasing the supply of available workers for many others. Organized workers are a power which can and does say to heartless greed for profits—stop your brutality. Those wage earners who were organized were able to take care of themselves and to maintain American standards of living. Again as in the last financial crisis they raised the slogan, "No wage reductions," and warded off the policy whose cumulative effect would have shaken the whole economic structure. A policy of wage reductions would have destroyed confidence and hence would have undermined credit.

Through their economic organization organized workers had the means by which they could make adjustments necessary to protect human interests from impending perils. Those who are unable to defend themselves are always made to bear the brunt of hard-

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ships. Organization is the method by which the workers can protect themselves from being made the burden bearers in all calamities and can secure an equitable participation in prosperity. In all cases it is power for self-protection that is their safeguard. The constructive efforts made to help the workers during this emergency were made by the labor organizations. As I said before, they stood solidly for maintenance of wages, which meant maintenance of American standards of living and checking the diminution of purchasing power.

The constructive power that protects the workers in war time is the same power that protects them in peace. The economic organizations were the agencies that enabled them to cope with unemployment and to relieve in some measure the distress caused by the war. Through trade organizations the workers are co-operating with responsible national, state and municipal authorities to meet emergencies while at the same time safeguarding the workers from exploitation which naturally results from the ruthless, brutal spirit which war engenders.

The labor movement of the world is the one agency whose members have been loyal to fatherlands in the time of peril and yet have with insistent emphasis and appeal upheld the sacredness of human life and opportunity and the brotherhood of man. While bearing burdens of the war they are still maintaining standards that dignify human life and are creating and directing influences that will have an important part in establishing peace and the constructive work

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which shall make for greater justice in international relations.

The United States as well as the whole world has suffered through the disrupting influence of the war. In the United States the organized labor movement has dealt constructively with the needs and the emergencies created by the war.

Where production was decreased, wherever possible the officers and members of the organized labor movement provided that work should be equally shared, that those of their trade should not be added to the number of the unemployed. Through their trade benefits they helped fellow workers who were out of work, while the trade organizations assisted them in finding employment. The trade union movement acted as a steady force to all industry by steadily and determinedly opposing irrational, erratic changes.

Organized labor furthermore made demands upon municipalities and all government authorities that public construction work should be continued where contracts had been let and that beneficent new work should at once be undertaken wherever possible.

The organized workers were alert to opportunities, aware of their own interests, able to protect themselves and those dependent upon them. They manifested the American characteristics, resourcefulness and adaptability that enabled us all to weather the difficulties resulting from the war. We have fostered and developed the spirit of self-reliance and initiative necessary to national life.

The workers upon whom war burdens have fallen most heavily have been the unorganized. Their suf-

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ferring has been inarticulate, helpless misery. They were without the means of expressing their misery or their needs. They have benefited indirectly from the efforts of organized labor but that did not relieve them of the heavy weight of the burdens of the industrial crisis.

The army of the unemployed has been made up largely from the ranks of the unskilled workers. It is a well known policy of large corporations employing unskilled workers to have available a greater number of workers than they regularly employ. This condition is a menace to steady employment. It is intended not only to discourage efforts of workers to secure higher wages or better conditions of work, but is also used as an instrument to enforce lower standards. Where there are two or three waiting for a job it takes more than human courage to make a stand for rights—the workers have to think each day of daily bread for the next day. To stop work means to go without food.

This condition is largely the result of superinduced immigration. Shipping companies and big employers of unskilled workers, have stood for a policy of unrestricted immigration. For many years that policy did little harm, but now the frontier opportunity has ceased to exist and the number and the character of the immigrants are such that they can no longer be assimilated by the American nation. Some restrictive policy must be adopted.

In addition to a situation already grave, our nation must face after-war consequences. There is no doubt but that the war will be followed by a tide of emigra-

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tion of unparalleled proportions. The countries that are now engaged in the bloody struggle will seek some way to escape caring for derelicts of war, the mental and physical wrecks and those who have been ruined financially. The incompetent and those who probably may become a burden upon the community will be encouraged and perhaps assisted to emigrate.

You have only to turn to our Southern border line for verification of this assertion. Responsible authority informs me that Mexican military authorities have been furnishing free transportation and otherwise encouraging the emigration of dependent women and children, and the men who are unfit for service in the army or unable to work.

What is taking place on the Southern border is a very significant reminder of what will happen at the close of the European war. Now is the time to make provisions against that impending disaster.

The end of the war will bring to our country another economic reaction. Those industries that have been stimulated because of a demand created by the war will come upon a period of idleness. New industries that have been developed to supply articles which Europe furnished us before the war will have to meet competition. There will follow in our country a period of readjustment. Again the burdens of that transition will fall most heavily upon the workers, particularly the unorganized workers. Organized workers in the main will be in a position to protect themselves through agreements with employers. The unorganized will be without the means of meeting the difficulties.

The power of the workers to protect themselves is

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of tremendous importance to the nation—it means the power to protect the bone and sinews of the nation; to conserve the men and women who do the work necessary to the nation's life; to maintain unimpaired the standards and ideals of American free men.

The lesson of the European war as it affects the American wage earners demonstrates again the value of the labor movement to a democratic people. It is the way by which the great masses of the nation can think out their industrial problems and order their own lives.

The labor movement has also its social and political influence that will aid in establishing justice at the end of the war. It will be the greatest force in opposing reaction that always results from the brutalizing influences of war. It will be the most potent force to compel relations that shall subordinate all else to human welfare.

When the wage earners refuse to bear the consequences of deeds and policies for which they are in no way responsible, then will those in authority consider more carefully, before they start into activity, forces whose evil consequences will bring hardship and suffering. The working people are more clearly conscious of the extent and the nature of their power than ever before, hence they are in a position to secure for themselves increasing recognition in determining the affairs of industry and of international relations. The wage earners will, I am sure, make their power felt.

In addition to the industrial and commercial issues that the war has raised, the working people of the world are concerned as to what shall be determined with re-

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gard to the evil forces that are largely responsible for the war—autocracy and militarism. Through their organized economic power the wage earners exert a tremendous power in political affairs as well as in industrial and commercial, and they propose to see to it, through their international economic organizations, that democracy shall be assured control in international affairs.

Democracy must be established and endowed with power and authority. That can be done without militarism. Militarism must fall through gradual disarmament.

Democracy will be maintained by able, free citizens alert to discern their own rights and to distinguish the right, able and willing to maintain justice for all.

When democracy shall have established justice in international relations, then shall the wage earners of every land have greater opportunities to give their ideals reality in everyday life and dream and plan greater things for all mankind. They will no longer be unresisting pawns for war slaughter or the less spectacular slaughter of industry and commerce. In every relation of life organized labor will establish the principle of the sacredness of human life and will not only oppose the brutalities and the waste of war, but also the brutalities and waste of peace.

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Every observer knows that there is no peace—all of life is a struggle, physical and mental. Progress results only from the domination of the forces making for freedom and opportunity over the forces of repression.

Before the Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the National Civic Federation at Washington, D. C., January 18th, 1916.

FOR seventeen months war such as has never been known in the history of man has been devouring life and consuming the handiwork of men. Such a stupendous horror has compelled men to think deeply of the principles underlying our institutions and the spirit that makes for human progress and liberty.

Before the outbreak of the present war many believed that a great war involving many nations was no longer possible; that men had developed ideals of justice and of humanity that would prevent the possibility of their taking the lives of fellow men, even in the name of legitimate warfare. They hoped much—their ideals were untested.

With the declaration of war the men of each country rushed to their flags. Soon there were mobilized thousands of men fighting for conflicting ideals. When it was necessary to decide whether they proposed to stand by and see another nation invade their fatherland, trample upon their national ideals, ruthlessly dis-

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regard solemn pledges given in treaties, they found that there were some things of higher value than peace. They found that there are dangers of peace more far-reaching than the dangers of war. They realized that it is better to fight and die for a cause than to maintain peace and their physical safety at the sacrifice of their manhood and of the ideals that enoble life.

And yet it is not an unbeautiful theory that has been dissipated by the shot and the smoke of the European war. There were many who held that an organized society was possible upon a basis of the brotherhood of man, in which all had regard for the rights of others and would subordinate their selfish interests to the welfare of others. This ideal made paramount the sanctity of human life and regarded war as a relic of barbarism possible only because institutions of justice had not been sufficiently developed. Wage earners generally of all civilized countries proclaimed and indorsed this ideal and declared that they would use every means within their power to prevent war even to the extent of stopping all of the industries of the nations through a general strike. There were many extreme pacifists who could find no justification for war or for the use of force in international affairs.

And I, too, found this ideal attractive. In a speech made in April, 1899, in Tremont Temple, Boston, I said:

The organized wageworker learns from his craft association the value of humanity and of the brotherhood of man, hence it is not strange that we should believe in peace, not only nationally, but internationally.

It is often our custom to send organizers from one country to another for the purpose of showing to our fellows in

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other countries the value of our association in the labor movement. If international peace can not be secured by the intelligence of those in authority, then I look forward to the time when the workers will settle this question—by the dock laborers refusing to handle goods that are to be used to destroy their fellow men, and by the seamen of the world, united in one organization, while willing to risk their lives in conducting the commerce of nations, absolutely refusing to strike down their fellow men.

My belief that war was no longer possible was based upon what I desired rather than upon realities because I felt so keenly the brutality, the destruction, and the waste of war. It seemed to me that war and conditions of war cut through the veneer of civilization and disclosed the brute in man. The consequence and the purpose of war accustom man to treat human life lightly. They make men callous to human suffering and they idealize force. No one can hear of the atrocities of the terrible carnage of the present war, of the destruction on the battlefields and on the high seas without a feeling of horror that civilized men can plan such methods, can use the skill of their minds and bodies and the wisdom of past generations to such terrible purpose. But what if these horrors done to the bodies of men shall prevent great horrors to the minds—the souls of men?

The pacifists and those who hold to policies of non-resistance have failed as I had failed to understand and to evaluate that quality in the human race which makes men willing to risk their all for an ideal. Men worthy of the name will fight even for a “scrap of paper” when that paper represents ideals of human justice and freedom. The man who would not fight for such a scrap

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of paper is a poor craven who dares not assert his rights against the opposition and the demands of others. There is little progress made in the affairs of the world in which resistance of others is not involved. Not only must man have a keen sense of his own rights, but the will and the ability to maintain those rights with effective insistence. Resistance to injustice and tyranny and low ideals is inseparable from a virile fighting quality that has given purpose and force to ennobling causes to all nations.

Though we may realize the brutality of war, though we may know the value of life, yet we know equally well what would be the effects upon the lives and the minds of men who would lose their rights, who would accept denial of justice rather than hazard their physical safety. The progress of all the ages has come as the result of protests against wrongs and existing conditions and through assertion of rights and effective demands for justice. Our own freedom and republican form of government have been achieved by resistance to tyranny and insistence upon rights. Freedom and democracy dare not be synonymous with weakness. They exist only because there is a vision of the possibilities of human life, faith in human nature, and the will to make these things realities even against the opposition of those who see and understand less deeply. The people who are willing to maintain their rights and to defend their freedom are worthy of those privileges. Rights carry with them obligation—duty. It is the duty of those who live under free institutions at least to maintain them unimpaired.

As the result of the European war there is hardly a

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citizen who has not in some degree modified his opinions upon preparedness and national defense. The belief prevails that there must be some policy of preparedness and national defense, although there is wide diversion as to what policies ought to be adopted.

Preparedness and defense are practically the reverse and obverse sides of the same problem. There are two lines of approach to this problem—one indirect, involving consideration of the development, health, and conservation of the citizens, and the other direct, involving the weapons of defense and specific plans for the use of power.

In the past we have trusted much to the rugged physiques, muscles, and nerves trained and under control, and ability to coördinate powers quickly to meet emergencies which belong to the outdoor life of a pioneer people. Life on the frontier developed physical strength and virile manhood. Mental and physical weakness could not survive in the dangers of that life. But the frontier has vanished. The majority of our citizens no longer live in the open, and they show in their physical development the effect of the restricted life of the city. They have not the physical strength or endurance that would fit them without further preparation to be called into service in a citizens' army.

Since opportunities for physical training are not freely and readily available to all, some definite national policy must be devised for physical training and physical preparedness of all citizens. Such a training could be readily given through our public school system and other auxiliary agencies.

Physical training is properly a part of educational

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work, and therefore should be under the control and direction of public agencies. We are constantly coming to a better appreciation of what proper physical development and good health mean in the life and for the working ability of each individual. Physical training and good health are just as important and just as necessary to all other interests of life as they are to national defense. The chief problem is that training of this nature should be in furtherance of broad, general usefulness and ideals and not be narrowly specialized or dominated by the purpose of militarism.

Physical training must fit citizens for industry, for commerce, for service in the work of the nation, as well as for service in defense of the nation. But physical training and preparedness are insufficient. There must be a spirit among the people that makes them loyal to country and willing to give themselves to its service and protection. That spirit can not exist unless the citizens feel that the nation will assure to all equal opportunities and equal justice. They must feel that they are a part of the nation with a voice in determining its destinies. This spirit of loyalty depends not only upon political rights, but upon justice and right in the industrial field, aye, in all relations of life.

National preparedness involves also power to coördinate and to utilize national forces and national resources. War as it is being waged to-day is not determined merely by the men on the battle field, but also by the mobilization of the national resources, national industries and commerce. The real problem is the organization of the material forces and resources of the country, the coördination of these in the further-

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ance of a definite defensive military policy. All of the power and resources of the belligerent countries are concentrated to sustain the armies in the field and to equip them with the necessary weapons of war. The contest between industries, the question of commercial control, of superiority of economic organization, are fully as important as the contest between the soldiers on the battle field. Whatever, then, is the necessary part of the organization of industrial and commercial life is an important factor in national preparedness.

[Our industrial and commercial development has been of a haphazard nature rather than in accord with any definite, constructive, statesmanlike plan. Because of the vast natural resources of our country and the variety of untouched opportunities, it has been possible for us as a nation to achieve tremendous results without definite plans, without much wisdom, and without the use of the best judgment. Considering our opportunities and the vast wealth of our country, to have failed would have been much more marvelous than the degree of success to which we have attained. As our population has increased, as free lands have disappeared, as there is no longer the former wide range of opportunity, success in the future will be more directly the result of the best use of available opportunities and of the best coördination of existing forces. As frontier opportunities have disappeared, so frontier business policies will no longer succeed. Commercial or industrial policies that aimed at immediate results with extravagant disregard for conservation or for economical utilization of materials will be replaced by better policies of developing commerce and industry

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upon a basis that means constructive development instead of exploitation. The economic highwayman must disappear as did the frontier highwayman.

Constructive development must have consideration for every factor concerned in production and must secure to each equal opportunities that will result in the best service and in the conservation of the future service. Such a policy will involve thorough organization of all the factors of production. This organization must extend to the human element in production in order that there may be accorded to the workers proper consideration of their needs and proper conservation of their labor power.

Preparedness as viewed from this standpoint is a part of the larger problems of national development—physical, mental, economic. It is a civic, an economic, as well as a military problem. National development can be in accord with the highest ideals only when all citizens have the right to voluntary association to promote their own welfare and to activities necessary to carry out the purpose of such organizations. This broad general policy includes associations of wage earners—trade unions. These associations of the workers must be recognized by all agencies, whether private or governmental, that are concerned with the life and the work of the workers.

Great Britain, in dealing with immediate problems of national defense, has found that the labor movement must be recognized as the natural and official representative of the wage earners. She has found that she can deal with national problems only when

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she considers the ideals and the demands of the chosen representatives of the workers.

But the principles of human welfare can not be ignored in military matters or in plans for national defense just as they can not be ignored in industry or commerce. That infinitely valuable and sacred thing—human creative power—and the safeguarding of human rights and freedom are of fundamental importance and are correlated with national defense and must not be sacrificed to any false conception of national defense. For to what end will a nation be saved if the citizens are denied that which gives life value and purpose?

The labor power of workers is to them their all. The deep significance of the protection and conservation of their labor—their very lives—is what the British Government of to-day has failed to understand. The deep significance of this declaration made a few days ago in England by an important labor organization has a meaning for us:

Unless the Government is prepared to confiscate the wealth of the privileged classes for the most successful prosecution of the war, the railroad workers will resist to the uttermost the confiscation of men whose only wealth is their labor power.

Some employers of our country and some Government officials have refused to recognize organizations of wage earners, but organizations of wage earners are a necessary and an important part of the organization of industry and society, and any national policy that refuses to recognize and take into account such an important force must prove ineffective.

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National policies, whether political or military, must be in accord with broad democratic ideals that recognize all factors and value each according to the service that it performs. There is a human side to all of our national problems, whether industrial, commercial, political, or military. It has been the general practice of governments to accord only to employers, the owners of capital, of the managerial side of commerce and industry, real participation in government and in deciding upon governmental policies. According to this custom the wage earners belong to the class of the governed, never to the governing class. This policy is a reflection of conditions existing in the industrial and commercial world. However, a change has been coming. The wage earners, through their economic associations, have been making the demand that those who supply the creative labor power of industry and commerce are surely as important to the processes of production as those who supply the materials necessary for production. They have, therefore, made demand that the human side of production shall at least be given as much consideration and as much importance as the material side. They demand that industry and commerce shall be conducted not only in the interests of production but with consideration for the welfare and the conservation of the human beings employed in production. They have asserted the right that every policy affecting industry, commerce, financial institutions, and everything that is involved in the organization of society in some way affects the lives of those concerned in the industries or occupations and the welfare of those who are the consumers. Therefore the

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demand that those who are concerned in the conduct of the industry or occupation must be given the same consideration as those who are to make profits by the industry. They have declared that these are principles of human welfare and have demanded that these must be considered in determining national policies. This is a democratic ideal and one which will promote the welfare of all of the people. Hence, it has an important bearing upon national preparedness, for it means that the great masses of the people will be better fitted physically and mentally to be intelligent, able protectors of the nation.

In addition to policies of general preparedness, which are a part of the larger problem of national development and conservation, there must be some specific plan and agency for national defense. Even the Socialists agree upon the necessity for wars of defense and for agencies of national defense. When war was declared the Socialists of Germany, of France, and of England flocked to the national standard to defend the flag. There is not a national Socialist organization in Europe that is not defending its participation in the war upon the plea of the necessity for national defense. The old international idealism of human brotherhood has, at least for this war, been shot to pieces on the battle field of Europe. They forgot their theories of pacifism and flew to arms to defend their homes, their families, and their governments.

And the Socialists of the United States have not escaped dissensions as the result of the war and are now in a bitter wrangle upon the degree of military

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preparedness that ought to be adopted by this country. Some of the more violent pacifists are trying to forcefully eject from the party those who declare a policy of nonresistance as incompatible with the conditions that confront our Nation. Other Socialists, such as Charles Edward Russell, renounce their old dreams and acknowledge that human nature makes it necessary for us to be ready for national defense. Prominent members of the Socialist Party—Joshua Wanhoppe and W. J. Ghent—declare that socialism is a revolutionary movement and hence Socialists can not renounce the use of force. Both declare that the Socialist parties of the world have never taken the position of advocating Tolstoian nonresistance. Morris Hillquit has admitted that preparedness seems doomed to become the issue in the national convention and a plank in the Socialist Party platform. Henry L. Slobodin has said:

The Socialists had many occasions during the last 50 years to deliberate upon this problem and declare the Socialist attitude on military preparedness. And not once did the Socialists declare against preparedness. On every occasion they declared that the Socialists were, in their own way, in favor of military preparedness. The Socialists always were against standing armies and huge military establishments. But they always were and now stand committed in favor of universal military training and a citizens' army.

Recent dispatches from Berlin say that the executive committee of the Socialist Party has by a vote of 28 to 11 adopted a resolution censuring 20 Socialist members of the Reichstag for attempting to thwart the party's policy by declining to vote in favor of the war credits.

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Quite in contrast to this vacillation is the consistent attitude of the American Federation of Labor. The following declaration, made years ago, has stood the tests of the experiences of years. It embodies the wisdom labor has gained in the struggle of life and work.

A man who is a wage earner and honorably working at his trade or calling to support himself and those dependent upon him has not only the right to become a citizen soldier, but that right must be unquestioned.

The militia, i. e., the citizen soldiery of the several States in our country, supplies what otherwise might take its place—a large standing army.

The difference between the citizen soldiery of the United States and the large standing armies of many European countries is the difference between a republic and monarchy—it is the difference between the conceptions of liberty and of tyranny.

While organized labor stands against the arbitrament of international or internal disputes by force of arms, yet we must realize we have not yet reached the millennium; that in the age in which we live we have not the choice between armed force and absolute disarmament, but the alternative of a large standing army and a small one supplemented by a volunteer citizen soldiery—the militia of our several States.

The 1915 (San Francisco) convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirmed this position by refusing to adopt resolutions which called upon all workers to desist from affiliating with any branch of the military forces.

A great majority of our nation are agreed upon the necessity for adopting a definite policy for necessary national defense. Of course, there is not unity upon any one policy. Whatever plan may be adopted, the organized-labor movement of America, which is directly representative of millions of organized wage

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earners and indirectly representative of millions more of unorganized workers, demands that certain fundamental principles must be regarded.

All policies and plans for national defense must be determined by representatives of all of the people. The organized-labor movement, which is the only means for expressing the will and the desires of the great masses of our citizenship, asserts its right to representation in all committees, or bodies that decide upon military defense. The working people of all nations are always those most vitally affected by military service in time of peace or war. Upon them falls the burden of the fighting in the ranks and they have ever been expected to act as shock absorbers for the evil consequences of war. They have been the chief sufferers from evils of militarism wherever that malicious system has fastened itself upon a nation. Since they have been the victims of the hurtful policies of military defense, they will be the most interested in safeguarding our own national plans from dangers and from evils of militarism that have been disclosed by the experiences of other countries.

Preparedness is something very different from militarism or navalism. Both leave an indelible impression upon the nation, one for freedom and the other for repression. Militarism and navalism are a perversion of preparedness—instead of serving the interests of the people, the people are ammunition for these machines. They are destructive to freedom and democracy.

An understanding of human nature and of conditions is convincing proof that every nation must have

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some means of self-defense. The agencies and policies for this purpose must be carefully chosen.

The labor movement has always been a leader in the cause of democracy. The labor movement demands democracy in all things, including military organizations and institutions of the country. It holds that policies and methods of self-defense are best safeguarded when there is equal opportunity for all to become members of whatever organizations and institutions, whether military or otherwise, exist throughout the country. Not only must entrance to all institutions be freely and equally accorded to all, but the military must be democratically organized, democratically officered, and under the control of heads who are responsible to the citizens of the land.

In addition to the regular army there must be a citizenship physically fit, ready and able to serve. Equal opportunity for military training must be provided for the citizenship generally—opportunity attended by provisions that make it equal in reality and truly democratic.

All agree that physical training with knowledge and the ability to bear and use arms will have a wholesome effect upon the health, strength, and preparedness of the people of the United States. If that training is given through voluntary institutions, organized upon a democratic basis, it will have a wholesome effect upon the civic life of the nation also.

Democratic spirit is essential. Any plan that recognizes professions or other distinctions will tend toward military castes, a condition incompatible with

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the freedom, the spirit, and the genius of our Republic.

Absolute democracy in voluntary service for national defense will have an effect upon all other relations of life. It will make for better understanding. It will bind all together in unselfish service and broaden and deepen that which constitutes the common life of our nation. Men can not resist the appeal of human nature.

The labor movement is militant. The workers understand the necessity for power and its uses. They fully appreciate the important function that power exercises in the affairs of the world. Power does not have to be used in order to be potential. The very existence of power and ability to use that power constitute a defense against unreasonable and unwarranted attack. Ability and readiness for self-defense constitute a potential instrumentality against unnecessary and useless wars, or the denial of rights and justice.

The labor movement has never advocated the abolition of agencies for the enforcement of right and justice, or for the abolition of the military arm of government, but it does demand that these shall be so organized as to prevent their misuse and abuse as a means of tyranny against the workers, and to prevent the development of pernicious results that have grown out of militarism, the building up of a separate military caste and the subversion of civic life to military government and military standards. When military institutions and military service are separated from the general life of the people they become sub-

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versive to the ideals of civic life, they become dangerous to the best development and the best interests of the nation.

The rights and privileges of citizenship impose a duty upon all who enjoy them. That duty involves service to the nation in all relations of the common life, including its defense against attack and the maintenance of national institutions and ideals.

There are no citizens of our country who are more truly patriotic than the organized wage earners—or all of the wage earners—and we have done our share in the civic life of the nation as well as in the nation's wars. We have done our share to protect the nation against insidious attacks from within that were directed at the very heart of our national life and would have inevitably involved us in foreign complications. The wage earners stood unfalteringly for ideals of honor, freedom, and loyalty. Their wisdom and their patriotism served our country in a time of great need. No one can question that the wage earners of the United States are patriotic in the truest sense. No one can question their willingness to fight for the cause of liberty, freedom, and justice. No one can question the value of the ideals that direct the labor movement.

The labor movement takes the position that plans and policies for national defense and preparedness must be in accord with an educated conscience which can discern values, and is able and alert to distinguish the vital from the less important, and willing to insist upon the ideals and standards of justice, equality, and freedom.

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Every observer knows that there is no peace—all of life is a struggle, physical and mental. Progress results only from the domination of the forces making for freedom and opportunity over the forces of repression.

I may summarize the situation into these few concrete suggestions:

1. The recognition of and coöperation with the organized-labor movement in all fields of activity—industrial, commercial, political, social, moral defense.
2. Establishment and extension of the citizen soldiery, democratically organized, officered, administered, and controlled.
3. Prohibition of the use of the militia for strike duty.
4. Education of wage earners upon an equality with all other citizens in manual training, physical and mental development, in organizing, officering, administering, and leading in the operations of a military character for the defense of our country.
5. Industrial education and vocational training as part of the educational system of the States, with financial aid of the Federal Government.
6. Education of the young, physical and mental, including the art and the duty of defense, the ability to bear arms, the inculcation of the ideals of democracy, civic rights, and duties and obligations.
7. Inculcate in all our people a social conscience for a better concept of industrial justice.

The thoughts and suggestions I have submitted should commend themselves to the serious and favorable consideration and action of all of our people—

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all their groups and associations. Put into actual operation they will make not only for immediate effective preparedness for defense, but will prove the potential means for permanent preparedness and defense, and at the same time make all our people more efficient in their every endeavor, and in addition safeguard the spirit of justice, freedom, democracy, and humanity.

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The bitter experiences of this war will prove to all nations that the system of small group alliances, armed to the teeth and eternally growling at one another, is a poor way to run the business of the world. It seems practically certain that instinct, as well as reason, will react against this system of armed peace toward some larger federation of the nations.

*Convention of the League to Enforce Peace, Washington,
D. C., May 26th, 1916.*

NO class has more to lose and less to gain in war than the workers. No class renders such sacrificial service during war and bears such staggering burdens after war as does labor. In war, Labor sees the results of years of struggle for wider justice swept away. In one mad moment the clock of industrial progress may be turned back for a generation. War diverts the mind of peoples from the constructive work of humanizing and democratizing the relations of men. Recognizing them, working men the world over have avowed their allegiance to the cause of peace and have sworn undying opposition to the forces that make for war.

Before the present war, the working people of the several countries now in conflict sincerely gave international pledges that they would not fight each other. I confess that I banked strongly on these pledges, but

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in an hour of crisis, brought about by forces over which working men had little control, their pledges were shattered by the hurried ultimatum of Kaiser and King, or President and Czar. Secret diplomacy and arbitrary autocracy lifted the battle standards, raised the cry that the integrity of the fatherland was at stake, and placed the working men of all the nations in a position where adherence to their pledges and to the larger interests of humanity would have branded them as traitors. Under the urgency of the situation, with autocracy and militarism resorting to their accustomed stage tricks for arousing patriotic emotions, instinct prevailed over reason and the laboring men of the nations rushed into the paths that had been marked out by the diplomatic and ruling classes.

But when the smoke of this conflict is cleared, with renewed energy, the laboring men of the world will begin to lay anew the foundations for an international peace that will safeguard and minister to the interests of justice, democracy, and larger opportunity for all.

But for even a more immediate reason, America's workers are vitally interested in the kind of settlement that shall come at the end of the war and in its effect upon industrial conditions in the United States. For it is obvious that at the end of this war, Labor may have to enter into great struggles to get and hold its just dues. These struggles may become more acute in the United States should an industrial reaction ensue after the close of the war.

Organized labor stands, of course, for group action instead of an individual competitive scramble with those in direct need setting the standard. Of course,

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when there is a scarcity of work and a multitude of workers, collective bargaining faces an added difficulty.

And yet such conditions are the definite outlook, if the settlement of the present war is an ordinary one, a mere diplomatic jockeying on the part of the nations for the best position in the next race for armaments, the kind of settlement that is sure to be made unless labor, agriculture, business, the chief elements in life and all classes, can effectively coöperate for a different and better kind of settlement.

Let me state briefly what will cause this reaction, if it comes. If, at the end of this war, nothing but war is left as a method for settling the future disputes that are bound to arise between nations, every nation, our own included, will be forced into an extravagant competition in armaments as a defensive preparation against the next great conflict that will be but a question of years. The interest bills and the expense of reconstructing demoralized industries will be burden enough to bend the back of Europe for a generation, but if there be added the greatest naval and military appropriations of history, it becomes clear that Europe will face the most desperate need of income she has ever known. To meet this need, Europe must carry over into the economic struggle for the recovery of the markets of the world much of the grim spirit of sacrifice that she has shown in war, and institute the most severe and destructive competition known to industrial and business history. In that competition, our democracy, its institutions, its methods, and its

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prosperity will be put under a greater strain than it has ever known.

Whether or not this suicidal competition is to be inevitable depends, largely, upon whether or not the mind and heart of the world unite in substituting a higher standard of morality-law for war, in the settlement of future disputes between nations, thereby making less necessary another competitive race for armaments, and thus removing one of the biggest expenditures that will make necessary the destructive race for trade which I have mentioned.

The fear of an industrial and business reaction in America is not born of theory, but is based upon evident proof that the present military war is to be followed by an economic war unparalleled in the intensity and destructiveness of its competition. Definite organization is already under way in practically all of the nations of Europe in preparation for a race for markets that will be the goal of this economic war. This organization is being directed not only by the governments of Europe, but also by the private industrial and business interests of Great Britain, France, Russia, Germany, and other belligerents. It is the declared purpose of the statesmen and commercial leaders of Europe to convert the present military alliances into future trade alliances. The plans being made for this economic war are animated not only by a desire for retaliation against former enemies, but to capture the greatest possible share of the trade of the world, as a means for liquidating war debts, sustaining credit, rebuilding war-damaged industries, and financing such

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military preparations for the future as conditions may render inevitable.

Every day brings added proof also that the nations of Europe will, at the end of the war, set up formidable tariff barriers that will seriously restrict trade between the nations now at war and force them to compete more keenly in the neutral markets of the world, including the invitingly rich market of the United States. The erection of these tariff barriers will be forced upon the governments of Europe, not only to meet the urgent need of revenue, but also to make each nation as nearly self-sufficient as possible, for this war will have proved and enforced the fact that a nation that could most nearly supply all its needs by its own industries were it walled in from the world, will be best able to protect itself and conserve its interests in the event of war.

The extraordinary pressure for funds will force exports from Europe upon a bigger scale than ever before. Europe will be more eager to sell and less able to buy than ever in history. If Europe exports at a maximum and imports at a minimum, the outlet for the products of American labor will, of course, be restricted. The poverty of Europe will make her not only a poor customer but also a fierce competitor. Our whole problem of foreign trade will be made increasingly difficult. The result may be the piling up in America of a great surplus of manufactured goods. Even before the war, we were beginning to feel the pressure of our surplus and the necessity for increased foreign trade. Such a serious limitation upon the exportation of American goods, as any extensive busi-

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ness reaction after the war would involve, would, in a short time, make for scarcity of work and react injuriously upon American labor.

Going back a moment to the proposition with which we started: The prosperity and welfare of American labor are largely dependent upon the prosperity and welfare of the American nation. Granted great prosperity to the nation, with a wide margin of profit to the employers, and granted the proper organization of labor for collective bargaining, there is always the chance, at least, to reach justice and equity; but if the United States suffers a serious business reaction, the American employer may have a less margin on which to deal with the problem of wages, and collective bargaining will face an increasingly difficult problem.

All of which means that American labor has far-reaching interests at stake in doing its share to help bring about such a settlement of the present war as will prevent any abnormal reaction upon the prosperity of the United States, and will give the industrial and business interests of the whole world an opportunity to compete along more nearly normal lines.

But above and beyond the desire of America's workers to secure a settlement that will safeguard their own and the nation's material interests, is their desire to see a settlement that will render war less probable and peace more permanent in the future; for the interests of the men and women of labor are identified with those of peace. War has never meant for them opportunity for gain or exploitation. It has always meant to them sacrifice and suffering in the actual fighting of the war and the bearing of heavy burdens

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after the war. Certainly working people have bought with their flesh and blood the right to a voice in determining the issues of peace and war; and in the general organization that will follow the present war, the workers will insist upon having voice and influence. Labor is committed to the principle that peace is the basis of all civilization.

Peace is not a chance by-product of other conditions; it is the fundamental necessity of all government and of all progress—industrial, intellectual, social and humanitarian. One of the main purposes, therefore, of governments and of all classes within governments must be the maintenance of more permanent international peace.

Since the burdens of war fall more heavily upon the workers than upon any other class, and since war diverts attention from the progress of that social and industrial democracy which holds the hopes of Labor in its balance, it follows that Labor, more than any other class, is interested in the establishment and maintenance of a more permanent international peace.

Although bearing most of its burdens, Labor has had little to say in the declaration and conduct of the wars of the past, but in self-defense and in the interest of civilization, Labor must have an increasing voice in the peace of the future.

In any program looking toward the establishment of more permanent peace among nations, Labor will insist upon the following principles:

1. It must be a program under which the military forces of the world will be rescued from the dictation of arbitrary autocracy and absolute secret diplo-

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macy and dedicated to the maintenance of a higher standard of morals, law and justice; a program that will so safeguard the use of military power that it cannot be used by the reactionary forces of privilege in imperialistic aggression, or dragged like a red herring across the path of democratic progress.

2. It must be a program elastic enough to admit of those fundamental changes that the growing life of the world makes inevitable. Any international arrangement that does not afford peaceful methods of securing the results that now can be achieved only by successful fighting will make little headway against war. Labor will oppose any federation of nations so organized that the more powerful nations can use the machinery to maintain the *status quo* against the demands for change made in the interest of democracy and larger opportunity for the masses.

3. It must be a program under which the small nation, as well as the large nation, will have a free hand in every just and individual development; a program that will make it impossible for a few strong nations to dictate the policies and development of the world. It must not deny to small and dependent states that final right of revolution that sometimes is the only road to justice and freedom.

4. It must be a program that will give the masses greater influence in those decisions that plunge nations into war; that is to say, a program under which the powers of autocracy and absolute secret diplomacy cannot, over night, rush a nation into war before the citizenship of the nation has a chance to express itself.

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5. It must be a program under which the international machinery that is created will afford a medium through which all classes of society can voice their judgment and register their demands. We must not delude ourselves into thinking that the international problem will be solved entirely by the establishment of an international court along traditional lines, presided over by lawyers to pass judgment upon violations of established international law. The fact is that the real causes of modern wars are not so much violations of established law, as they are conflicts over new problems and new needs that have not yet become a part of international law. So that any adequate international program must include the establishment of a system of stated international conferences in which the representatives of such democratic interests as labor and business can present and discuss, not under any established rules of evidence, but in the spirit of impartial examination, those difficulties and differences that threaten to give rise to war.

These principles represent not only the international program for which Labor will work in the future, but they represent essentially the program for which Labor has been contending through the years. But Labor understands that a program so vast, involving as it does the interests of every human group, cannot be established and maintained by one class alone. Labor understands that humanity is one, that the problem of humanity is a common problem, that any international order of things to be permanent must safeguard the interests of all classes. Therefore, Labor is profoundly concerned in the creation and adoption

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of some international program for which all classes, Labor, agriculture and business, can work side by side in sincere coöperation for those principles that will best insure the triumph of justice and opportunity for all classes the world over.

In so far as the program of the League to Enforce Peace represents an effort to meet the conditions I have outlined, it demands the interest and careful scrutiny of every man who has the interests of labor at heart.

As I understand it, the essential proposals of the League to Enforce Peace are these:

1. That the nations shall band themselves together in a federation and agree to delay, in every instance, the actual declaration of war until the dispute at issue has been thoroughly examined by an international tribunal, and the public opinion of the world given a chance to express itself.
2. That there shall be an International Court to consider what can be decided upon established law and evidence.
3. That there shall be a Council of Conciliation to consider questions that are not ordinarily regarded as justiciable, such as questions of national honor.
4. That in addition, there shall be at stated intervals international conferences for the progressive amendment of international law.
5. That the nations of the League shall agree to turn their united strength—first in the form of a business and economic boycott, and finally in concerted military action if the boycott is not effective—against any one of their number that wages war with-

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out first submitting its dispute for complete examination to one of the International Tribunals created.

The hope of the League's program is, I take it, that by forcing nations to stop and count ten before striking, there will result a cooling-off period that will greatly reduce the probability of war, if not prevent most wars. There is no proposal that the decrees of the Court or Council shall be enforced; if, after the decision of the Court, a nation feels that it must fight to gain justice and freedom for its rightful development, the League provides no organized penalties. The program does not propose any tightly organized international government, but suggests that the nations shall coöperate to form a sort of International Vigilance Committee and say: If any one nation starts to "shoot up" the world without first giving legal processes a chance to adjust the difficulty, the other nations shall treat that nation as an outlaw and shall pool their economic and military power in an effort to force it to give law a chance.

It is not for me, by word of mouth, to commit the laboring men of America to any particular program in international affairs; but I may be permitted to comment upon the way the proposals of the League to Enforce Peace appeal to me as a representative of labor.

The League's program wisely refrains from attempting to stop the present war. Hating war as I do, I am free to confess that if I could stop this war now by a turn of my hand, I would not do it. I hold that something must be determined by this war, and that something is, whether the future belongs to au-

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tocracy and militarism or to democracy, liberty, and humanity. These are the points at issue and they have not yet been determined.

The League's program also wisely recognizes that we have not yet reached a point where the total disarmament of nations is a practically possible proposal. The labor movement is a militant movement, and the workers understand the necessity for power and its uses. The labor movement has never advocated the abolition of agencies for the enforcement of right and justice, or the abolition of the military arm of government, but it does demand that military forces shall be so organized as to prevent their misuse and abuse as instruments of tyranny against the workers; to render impossible the pernicious results of militarism—the building up of a separate military caste and the subversion of civic life to military government and military standards. If this program can succeed in making our military and naval forces not only our arm of defense, but, in addition, our contribution toward the maintenance of more permanent peace throughout the world, a long step in this direction may have been taken.

The League's program wisely recognizes the danger of creating a League of Nations that would undertake to enforce the *decisions* of an International Court, and contents itself with enforcing the *submission* to an International Court of all disputes for examination. Until democracy is more nearly universal, until democracy becomes a social and industrial fact as well as a political watchword, a League with power to enforce decisions would almost certainly be-

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come the repressive tool of the reactionary and privileged forces of the world.

The League's program, by suggesting the use of an economic boycott on an international scale as a means of enforcing law and justice, pays a tribute to the increasing importance and power of industrial forces in world affairs. But such a boycott must be left to the voluntary action of the peoples of all nations. What an International Court or League should do is to invite the representatives of all nations involved in a dispute for a hearing and then declare its findings, holding the nation at fault, guilty of such violations as the judgment of the Court or League may determine.

If a nation or nations fail or refuse to be represented, judgment should be taken by default, but in either event the opinion of the Court or League should be declared to the world as to which nation is responsible for the threatening conditions. An official or compulsory boycott must be avoided at all hazards.

Labor will insist that such careful thought and constructive statesmanship be put into the working out of the methods in each country by which a boycott would be applied, that the workers would be insured against the possibility of being forced to bear more than their just share of the necessary sacrifice involved, and that their freedom of action would not be jeopardized. The wage earners of the United States, who have so often proved their patriotic loyalty in the civic life of the nation, as well as in the nation's wars, stand ready to bear their just share of any

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economic sacrifice that may be necessary to maintain the peace of the world, but they must insist that it be only their *just* share.

But the final question is not whether, at this stage, we all agree upon every detail of a program. Evidence is daily accumulating that indicates that some such a League of Nations is practically certain to be formed, if not at the end of this war, in the not far distant future. The bitter experience of this war will prove to all nations that the system of small group alliances, armed to the teeth and eternally growling at each other, is a poor way to run the business of the world. It seems practically certain that instinct, as well as reason, will react against this system of armed peace toward some larger federation of the nations. Since such a Court or League as contemplated appears to be the inevitable goal toward which the whole evolution of law and government is tending, laboring men of this and every other nation will feel it their duty and privilege to lift their voice in counsel at every step of the plans and propaganda, in order to make more certain the triumph of democratic principles and methods, in whatever may be the final form of such an international institution.

A PLEDGE OF SERVICE

Democracy must prevail; it cannot, it dare not be defeated.

*With the Committee on Labor, Advisory Commission,
Council of National Defense, at the White House, May 15th,
1917.*

THE ladies and gentlemen who are here assembled form a Committee on Labor for the Conservation of the Health and Welfare of Workers of the Council of National Defense. On April 2nd, we had our first general meeting of all those who had accepted membership upon that Committee. Since then we have organized our general committees and educational committees to carry out the comprehensive work delegated to my committee. The Executive Committee of eleven has met several times, sometimes twice a week and other times once a week and always for the whole day.

My general committee and executive committee, as well as the other committees, are made up of men and women in all walks of life. There are representative labor men and labor women, officers or representatives of the organized labor movement in their respective districts or trades, and there are men, the largest business men, the biggest captains of industry in all our country, or in all the world. We have college pro-

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fessors, publicists, public men, officers of our army and of our navy, men and women, as I say, who have given some service to the country in some form or other, who, at my invitation, have voluntarily accepted service in order to be helpful in the great cause in which our country is now engaged.

During this struggle which we have just entered, which will entail sacrifices of which we now have no conception—during that period of the great struggle which must ensue, we hope and confidently believe that the great principles which you have so clearly and emphatically declared will triumph, that democracy must prevail, it cannot, it dare not be defeated. Humanity and civilization are the living protest against it.

We are of the opinion that the man power and the woman power—the wealth, the power and the conscience of those who are standing behind you, cannot help but win this wonderful victory which shall forever put an end to Prussianism or militarism as expressed by the Imperial Government of Germany.

During that time it will be the mission of this Committee to see to it that the standards of life shall not go down, at least not go down except as a last resort, as a last sacrifice essential to the safety and for the defense of our republic and for the ideals for which it stands. This committee comes from many different parts of the country. As you know, sir, there is no compensation for them nor are their expenses borne. They serve voluntarily to do this effective work. They have come here, about two-thirds of the committee; besides them there are others, men engaged in great

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affairs, who have telegraphed to me that it is physically impossible for them to come. I anticipated their wishes in asking that they might have the privilege of calling upon you, sir, and to pay their respects to you, in which I join, and you courteously advised me that the privilege would be accorded. We are here to pay our respects to you, Mr. President, and to express to you our great hope for your continued good health, for your mental and physical power to be retained to the last hour of your life, and may that last hour be long, long deferred.

LABOR AND NATIONAL UNITY

It has been the poor, the workers, the hewers of wood and the drawers of water, upon whose shoulders has been placed the burden to struggle upward and onward.

Before the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention, New York State Federation of Labor, Jamestown, N. Y., August 31st, 1917.

IT is gratifying to know of the magnificent work and growth and the achievements of the New York State Federation of Labor and the organized labor movement of our state and of our country. There are many who live in the fond hope that regardless of inactivity, somehow or other, improvement will come to the lot and the condition of the toilers of our country. It is good to have optimism. It is good to look upon the brighter side of life; but he who fails to understand, he who fails to take action to remedy existing wrongs and evils, fails in his first duty to himself and to his fellows. And not only now, but for all time to come.

Things do not happen for human betterment in the world of affairs except through the thought and the devotion and activity of the masses whom wrongs affect and who aspire for a better life.

The fatalist, the optimist purely, who imagines that things happen anyway, reminds me of the story of the

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hunter who had a companion who was a fatalist and believed that all things would happen regardless of any particular activity.

The hunter and his friend went out one day into the fields, and after awhile a great flock of wild ducks flew along the horizon. The hunter leveled his field-piece and shot; when lo and behold, a duck fell to the ground very nearly before the feet of the hunter and his friend.

The hunter, turning to his friend, said: "You fatalist, I ask you about this duck lying dead at my feet; you shot him."

And the answer came back: "Yes, my good friend, it is true that it is lying dead at your feet, but it wasn't a question of the shot, the fall killed the poor duck."

The whole history of the world is one of struggle, but the written history up to our time fails to record these sacrifices which have been made by the toiling masses that they may be spared some of the burdens of life. The men of means and of title have always been free in every state or country in which they have lived. They have enjoyed privileges and emoluments as well as riches and titles. It has been the poor, the workers, the hewers of wood and the drawers of water upon whose shoulders has been placed the burden to struggle upward and onward. And through all life, in all ages, it has devolved upon the great masses of the people to contend for a larger and better concept of the rights to which the toilers are entitled.

The whole history of the world is marked by the sacrifices which have been made. Every movement

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and every sacrifice which have been made have resulted in some distinct improvement in the condition of the toilers, until in our day the world is stirred by the concept as well as the slogan that the world must be made safe for democracy, for the people of the whole world.

I am proud to have been permitted to be associated with this wonderful movement of labor of America, for it is my judgment, as the result of long investigation and study, as well as travel and participation in movements, that there is no movement organized in all the world that is comparable with the American trade union movement as represented by the American Federation of Labor. We have indulged ourselves in less fantasy, we have indulged ourselves in fewer declarations, but we have consecrated our movement to tangible achievements, which shall bring and have brought light into the lives and the homes and the work of the toilers of America.

It has been our aim constantly to press home upon the political affairs of our country and the industrial affairs of our every-day lives, a larger participation of Labor in all the agencies of government as well as of industry. So we find now that Labor has a larger representation and a bigger voice in the determination of the affairs of industry and of our country.

I would not have any man or woman either understand or infer from what I have said that we—you and I—are satisfied with existing conditions. All our activities are in themselves the expression of dissatisfaction with evils and wrongs which have too long existed and are a demand for the rights to which the toilers are entitled.

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Your meeting and the meeting of the thousands of unions and central bodies, and the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, are in almost perpetual session to devise the ways and means by which we can still further press upon the political, the industrial, the commercial and intellectual agencies of our country, in order that the toilers shall at last come into their own.

But he who realizes the wrongs and the evils still existing and aims to secure improvements in the condition of the toilers, if unwilling to acknowledge that which has been accomplished, will to that same extent minimize and neutralize the things that he would like to do for the betterment of the people and libel the movement and himself included.

Now more than ever is it necessary for the working people to organize more thoroughly into their union, now more than ever it is essential for the workers themselves to be more completely united for the common welfare of the toilers and to make common cause with every man, with every group of men, with our own country and with all other countries that have the common concept of liberty and freedom and universal democracy.

We in the United States of America felt that the time had passed when any one could think, much less see, a conflict between the peoples of the nations of Europe such as we have seen since August, 1914. By direction of the American Federation of Labor, of which you are an integral and so important a part, I was directed to proceed to Paris, France, in the year 1909, and there participate in a conference of Labor

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of all countries, to carry your mandate to them. Finding there the representative men of the toilers of each country heartened me, encouraged me in the hope that at last the dream of the poet and philosopher was about to be consummated and the brotherhood of man of the whole world realized.

As a part of that international labor conference, a mass meeting was held at which the representative of each of the labor movements of the countries participating in the congress, spoke for the toilers of his country. I have never yet seen a mass gathering more truly sincere, enthusiastic and devoted to a particular cause than that great meeting. And with others I pledged myself and held myself sponsor for the fundamental thought and high ideal that America's workers would stand true to the principle of international peace and for the abolition of international wars.

I found myself so thoroughly in accord with the universal peace sentiment that perhaps you can imagine how my mind and heart and soul were racked to their very centers when this bloody war was thrust upon the people.

It was some time before I could realize really what had occurred. Men in all of these countries were working for a common uplift; scientists were burning the midnight oil that they might find some relief for the slightest ill that might occur to the most insignificant of the peoples of the world; every one was trying his level best to make of this life a better life when, out of the clear sky, this war broke, and at the call of a great autocrat, the people who had been trying to do so much for themselves and for the people

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of the world, were ordered to clutch at the very hearts and the throats of their fellow-men. The destruction of human life and property going on is unparalleled in the history of the world and staggering to the conscience of decent men and women.

And so we found the world startled and shocked at the beginning of this terrific war; we found the peoples of the other countries responding also to the call to the colors. The mightiest war of all the world was in full swing. We in America, regardless of how our sympathies may have swayed our judgment, maintained a strict and an impartial neutrality.

May I say here, for a moment, something upon the subject of neutrality? I desire to mention it simply because there are some people who have in their minds the thought that, after all, our Government was not neutral. I refer to the charge which has been made that the United States and her people furnished some of the countries at war with arms and ammunition and foods, etc., and that these acts were acts in conflict with the principles of neutrality. Let me say this, that the Government of the United States up to the time of our entrance into the war did not side with any of the contending countries. The people of the United States were engaged in the manufacture and production of certain articles, which, under the laws of the country and under the laws of the world, were perfectly lawful productions. They had the right to sell them to any one who came to the United States and desired to buy.

The American producer and manufacturer sold to those who wanted to buy a lawful product. Now, if

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one or two of the countries could not buy these products and could not take them to their own homes, that was not the fault of the United States. And let me say in connection with this, that no country now contending in the war repeats that charge against the United States or attempts now to argue that the United States was unneutral because it sold its products to those who wanted to buy.

But in addition, during the Spanish-American War the manufacturers of arms and munitions in Germany sold these products to Spain, as well as to the United States. During the Boer War—a war in which my sympathies went with the Boers—Germany as well as other countries sold munitions to the Boers, as well as they did to England. During our Civil War the countries of Europe furnished munitions and supplies to the Southern Confederacy, as well as to the Federal Government.

No one, no nation ever before attempted to cast a reflection upon any other nation because of the sale of munitions and supplies to any one of the other countries.

But to come to the more vital subject; we are now engaged in war. We have joined the other countries in fighting for democracy and freedom, the world over—not alone for the United States, not for England and France and Russia and poor outraged Belgium, but for the people of Germany and Austria-Hungary as well.

Is it not true that no man in public life was ever more assailed and criticised and denounced than was the President of the United States because he had kept us out of this great war for so long a time; urged on,

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egged on, ridiculed in every form because he had kept us out of the war and because he declared that sometimes a people may be too proud to fight?

He believed at that time that there was some honor and some conscience in the ruling family of Germany. When our people, engaged in legitimate travel, were by the hundreds sent to untimely death, when our property was destroyed—property might be made good in some fashion, but for life destroyed there is no compensation—the President declared that there must be some pledge given to safeguard the lives of American men and women and children, and the pledge was given that it would not be repeated.

Then came the warning of ruthless destruction of all life and property of any people who might come within a zone where they had a perfect, lawful right to go. That promise and pledge made by the Imperial German Government, like that treaty that held Belgium sacred from invasion, was regarded as a mere scrap of paper and torn into shreds, trodden under foot, and the wholesale destruction and murder went on.

Pacifist as I had been from my boyhood until this war broke out, I am free to say to you this, that I could not bind myself to the altered situation in the world's affairs; that the gauntlet had been thrown down to democracy and that unless the challenge was accepted autocracy would run rough-shod over the peoples of the whole world; and from pacifist came my evolution into a fighting man. I hold that in this great time there can be no just foundation for pacifism until militarism is crushed.

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I could wish that the war would come to an end, that human life be conserved and suffering saved, but a peace at this time without any one thing being determined finally and absolutely to guarantee that such a ruthless war cannot again be brought as a curse upon the people of the world, is both undesirable and impossible.

When the people of the Colonies of America took up arms for the establishment of this new nation, the Republic of the United States, there could be no ending of that war until either the people of those colonies were subjugated or freed to enjoy the privileges and the advantages of self-government. It was so determined, and we won.

During the Civil War, the four years' struggle between the North and the South for the abolition of human slavery and the maintenance of the Union, there could be no compromise, there could be no peace until the issue was settled.

I saw a few days ago a statement published in a so-called pacifist paper, which said, "Why not at this time emulate the good example of Gen. Grant, who said, 'Let us have peace'?" But the writer was either ignorant of the facts or purposely misrepresented Gen. Grant and the incident to suit a purpose which is unjustified.

When Gen. Grant uttered that immortal slogan, "Let us have peace," Gen. Lee had surrendered to Gen. Grant more than six months before and peace had been established; Gen. Grant had been nominated for the Presidency, and as his slogan for the purpose of helping the people of the South rehabilitate themselves, he

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said to the people of the North and of the South, "Let us have peace."

It is my judgment that we want to fight for the liberation and the democracy of the people of Germany and Austria and Hungary, as well as for the people of the United States, so that after militarism and imperialism and autocracy are crushed, we can say with Grant, "Let us have peace."

We are engaged in war. We are in it! You and I—members of organized labor—we sometimes enter into contests in which every one is not fully satisfied that it is the best thing to do. In our unions we have rules and laws, among which we prescribe that a strike can only be undertaken when two-thirds of the membership vote in favor of the strike. Some unions have the regulation that it shall be a majority, others three-fourths.

When I worked at the bench, I was in a number of strikes. There was one strike in the shop in which I was working, and my judgment was that it was an inopportune time for the men in that shop to strike. I was firmly convinced that they were justified in striking, but I knew as well as I know anything that has not yet occurred, that we would be defeated if we inaugurated the strike.

I was the only man in that shop who had that view. I did not vote against the strike. I expressed my views to the boys, but they did not hold my view and they decided that we should strike. Do you think for a moment that I would remain in that shop and work while they went on strike?

Supposing in any of our unions a question, a wage

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reduction or a demand for a wage increase came up and the question of striking was adopted by two-thirds of the men, or three-fourths of them—do you think for a moment that the one-third or the one-fourth of them have the right to say that the three-fourths are wrong and that they are going to continue to work and play the part of the scab and the strike-breaker? I hold that the same rule applies to the republic in which we live. I suppose that there are not many, in our time, who will hold that our country can be governed without laws of some kind.

We have a Constitution—the Constitution of the United States. We are living under the Declaration of Independence. The laws and the Constitution of the United States provide that the people of the United States through the Representatives and Senators in Congress assembled shall have the power to declare and make war. In the Senate of the United States, in the House of Representatives of the United States, there were not more than two or three who voted against the Government and the people of the United States making war upon the Imperial Government of Germany. In other words, the representatives of the people of this Republic, in Congress assembled, under the authority of the Constitution of the United States, made that declaration of war.

Any man living in our country who is unwilling to stand behind that declaration is unworthy to enjoy the guarantees of peace. I can not carry a gun with the accouterments of war, I can not fight in the trenches; if I attempted it, after a few days or a week or two, instead of being a help, I would be a burden. And

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consequently it is of no use for me to attempt in braggadocio or any other mood to volunteer my service to enter into the military or the naval force of our Government. But I have done something. There is a need in America and in all wars, for organizers; and some people have flattered me by saying that I am somewhat of an organizer. There is a need for administrators, and some have said that I am not such a bad administrator of affairs. There is need of advice and judgment, and my friends have flattered me by saying that I am not much of a fool. So, feeling the obligation to give service, I am giving the service, the best that is in me, for the cause in which the labor movement and our country are engaged.

A little bit of an incident, perhaps, to you, but a great big one to me, occurred a few days ago when I received from my grandson, nineteen years of age, a letter telling me that three months ago he had voluntarily enlisted in the service of our country in the Aviation Corps at San Antonio, Texas. His telling me about his voluntary action made me grow about six feet taller than I am.

I do know this, that I said to my family group that any one of them who would not serve the United States in this war is not of my blood and I repudiate him. I am in this war, with the people, behind the President and the Government of the United States. At the same time, and during the war, I propose to see to it, as best I can, that the standards of the American workers shall not be lowered; on the contrary, that every opportunity shall be given for the working men and women in our country; that in all the industrial

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and commercial pursuits and activities of our Government where they contribute toward bringing profit, the toilers shall share in the largest proportion of that profit.

At a conference held in Washington in the Executive Council meeting room of our beautiful structure, the officers of nearly all the international unions assembled there and adopted a declaration on March 12th, nearly a month before the entrance of our country into the war, insisting upon the maintenance and the improvement of the standards of life of the American working people.

Some time later with the four labor representatives sent from Great Britain to the United States to confer with the labor men of America, the Committee on Labor was received by the President. I was deputized to make a few remarks, which I undertook to do as best I could. The President's response was to the effect that the working people engaged in industry and commerce in the United States during this war shall have their rights guaranteed and their standards maintained.

When the Pennsylvania Legislature undertook to repeal the full crew law, the President wrote a letter to Governor Brumbaugh urging him to veto that proposition as against the interests of Labor, which interests should be maintained at all hazards. I may say that I have tried to do something that would be helpful upon that subject. I think you will be pleased to hear that there have been agreements made between the Secretary of War, Mr. Baker, and myself, as President of the American Federation of Labor, the terms

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of which provide that in the construction of cantonments and all appurtenances to them, the union scale of wages and the hours and conditions of employment of the union in the vicinity shall prevail as standards. A committee was created consisting of three men, a representative of the army, a representative of the public, and a representative of Labor, appointed by me. The man I appointed was John R. Alpine, third Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

The Secretary of War, by further agreement with me, extended the terms to the aviation plants, to the aviation construction cantonments, and then the Secretary of the Navy accepted that same agreement for all construction on land coming under the jurisdiction of the Navy Department.

This morning's Jamestown papers contain the statement of the creation of similar boards under similar conditions for the Emergency Fleet Corporation and for the Shipping Board. An agreement was consummated between the Seamen's Union and the vessel owners for improved conditions for the seamen and to stop any agitation for the repeal of the Seamen's Act, making it secure now for all time.

Secretary Baker, for the War Department, cancelled contracts for army clothing to the extent of nearly half a million dollars a few days ago, because this clothing was manufactured in the homes of the workers, and he wanted to abolish the sweat-shop system.

I freely admit that there are still many wrongs prevailing, that many evils still exist in the trades and many misconceptions and many injustices are being inflicted, but we have just declared war. We are

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really not in it yet, and what other governments have taken three and four years to accomplish, cannot be accomplished with a turn of the hand. It takes time. There is a disposition among the officers of the Government of the United States to deal fairly with labor.

I am not going to defend the I. W. W.'s, those who are irresponsible to each other, irresponsible toward Labor and irresponsible toward the Government of the Republic of the United States, but I do hold that every man living in our country, no matter what his opinions may be, no matter what is the charge that may be made against him, is entitled to the protection of the laws of our country.

I do not think that there are many men who have been more openly hostile to this gang of industrial free-booters than I have. Well, if men calling themselves labor men undertake by their irresponsible and irrational action to undermine all that we have tried to build up for years, if they then declare that they do not hold themselves responsible to any authority and give no accounting of their conduct to anybody, if there be any other title than that which I have just germinated in my mind and called them, I do not know it.

The man who is charged with the gravest crime known to the human mind is given the protection of a trial, confronted by a jury of his peers. He has his day in court. Even these industrial free-booters are entitled to that.

It was my pleasure last week to have had the honor of a long conference with the President, and the matter was brought to his attention of the attempt of some employers of labor not only to take advantage of this

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situation brought about by these so-called I. W. W.'s, but also with their attorneys and corporations, to make common war upon all organized labor,—trade unions, bona fide, constructive, conservative as they all are. I am not violating the President's confidence, nor would I violate the confidence of the Council of National Defense, but I think I am justified in telling you that as a result of those incidents, the Council of National Defense adopted and the President approved, the creation of a commission to make an investigation of the situation in the West and Northwest and to report to the Council and to the President. Upon that commission Labor will undoubtedly have one or more representatives.

All along, in the activities in connection with production, transportation, or war contracts there is the disposition to deal fairly and honorably with Labor and to see that representatives of Labor are on the various boards and agencies.

Now, my friends, that is what we are trying to do. This one thing I know, we are in the war and we cannot get out of it. We dare not get out of it until America and the world are safe, so that all the peoples of the world may each live out their own lives, may each of them evolve and develop as best they can to attain their highest ideals.

As Lincoln said in his time, that "America cannot long remain half slave and half free," so the President of the United States in his great message to Congress on April 2, sounded the keynote for the whole world. It is by the wisdom of his great character, by his vision that the world shall be free, and it is by the com-

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mon consent of the democratic peoples of all the world that he is the standard-bearer and leader of the war of our time.

With the aid of the Central Federated Union of New York, with the organizations of New York State, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and a few other places, we have organized a movement of trade unionists and men who have declared their unalterable fealty to the American trade union movement as represented by the American Federation of Labor, accepting these two standards, separately and combined. First, there shall be solidarity in the American labor movement; the fight against secession and duality in the labor movement must be crushed out; and second, with the American trade union movement we shall undertake a campaign for the more thorough organization and the more thorough Americanization of the working people of our country. Standing loyally by our Republic that movement has gone on and on, and, as you have heard read, an invitation has been extended to the trade union central bodies and state federations to send representatives to a national conference to be held at Minneapolis, Minn., September 5th, 6th and 7th. It is my earnest hope, as I am convinced it will be to the advantage of the labor movement of the State of New York and of our country itself, that the men of labor shall be at Minneapolis on September 5th.

In some of the countries, the liberties of many of the people have been taken away from them during this war. In the United States thus far no such attempt has been made, and if I read the signs of the times correctly, and I think I do, if the men of labor of our

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country will be true to themselves and true to their unions and true to the Republic of the United States and the cause in which we are all engaged, there will be no attempt made to take away any of our liberties. But on the contrary, that for which we have striven so long, that for which we have given so many hours and years of our lives, will be maintained forever, except as improvements may come. It is all depending upon us. The course is open for us. We have no choice. I was about to say we must make our choice, —there is no choice. There is only one way, and that is the straight way; not only the straight way to labor patriotism, but to group patriotism, to human patriotism and to the patriotism and loyalty to the cause of Labor and the cause of our Republic the cause of justice, of freedom and of democracy.

AMERICA'S FIGHT FOR THE PRESERVATION OF DEMOCRACY

The United States has declared that she can not live in safety when there is stalking over the earth this thunderous machine of murder. The United States authoritatively has declared that peace is desirable and should be brought about, but that peace is impossible so long as life and liberty are challenged and menaced.

In accepting the presidency of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy upon its organization as a national body at Minneapolis, Minn., September 7th, 1917.

There is a tide in the affairs of men
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to Fortune;
Omitted, all the voyage of their life
Is bound in shallows and in miseries;
On such a full sea are we now afloat;
And we must take the current when it serves,
Or lose our ventures.

THE application of the present situation of the peoples of the democratic countries of the world was never better portrayed than in that admonition to one of Shakespeare's characters. Now is the time that tries men's souls equally as much as when that slogan was put forth.

I am not given to the course of condemnation of those who differ from me and even those who differ from our movement, but is this great Republic of ours worth preserving? Is the history of the struggles of the colonists of America of no importance? Is the

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Declaration of Independence meaningless? Are the Constitutional provisions and guarantees without understanding or pertinence? Was the Revolution fought in vain? Was the Civil War a fruitless struggle and sacrifice? Was the war between the United States and Spain for the independence of Cuba worthless and meaningless?

A moment's thought will decide that there never was in all the world a great country that was so altruistic in purpose and idealistic in its practices as is the Republic of the United States of America. With thinking men and women I count myself honored as one of the critics of the shortcomings of our Government and our country. I am not given to hide or to gloss over the wrongs which are committed against our people.

Under any and all circumstances, as far as the light and the ability have been given me, I have protested against a wrong committed against the meanest and humblest of our people in the United States and have tried so far as it was within my power to be helpful so that the wrong should be righted and the right conceded and guaranteed. Because I realize that we in the United States have not yet reached the acme of perfection industrially, politically, judicially or socially, is that a reason why I should lack in appreciation of that which has been done and that which has been accomplished?

Take country by country, those at war against each other, and see where liberty and conscience and freedom prevail. Beyond question it will be admitted by those who are fair enough to see the right and to dare to utter the right, that the democracies of the world

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are now engaged in one great titanic struggle so that they may with one fell stroke free the world from autocracy, imperialism and militarism.

I have counted myself happy in the companionship of the men and the women who called themselves pacifists. As a trade unionist, I have been in happy accord with our movement for international peace.

At a great gathering in Faneuil Hall, Boston, some years ago, I gave utterance to my soul's conviction that the time had come when great international wars had been put to an end. I expressed the opinion that in the last analysis, if those who are the profit-mongers by war undertook to create a war, the working people of the countries of the world would stop work simultaneously, if necessary, in order to prevent international war.

Incidentally, I may relate this: At one of the peace conferences James Bryce, Ambassador from Great Britain to the Government of the United States, after having heard all the other addresses upon peace, discussed the subject and then made this pithy remark: "I have tried to study history aright and I have been very much impressed with what has been said about peace to-night, but I have been able to discover only one war in the whole history of the world which was justified," and then turning to all the audience he said, "I prefer that each one of you would decide which war that was."

I beg you to believe me that he did not convert me from my international pacifism. Until 1914 I was in that fool's paradise. I doubt if there were many who were so thoroughly shocked to the innermost depths of

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their being as I was with the breaking out of the European War. But it had come! And as it went on, ruthlessly, we saw a terrific conflict in which the dominating spirit was that the people attacked must be subjugated to the will of the great autocrat of his time regardless of how our sympathies ran, and that men who had given the best years of their lives in the effort to find some means, some secret of science or of nature so that the slightest ill or pain of the most insignificant of the race might be assuaged, turned to purposes of destruction. At the call of this autocrat, His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of Germany, men were set at attack and we found that these very men were clutching at each other's throats and seeking each other's destruction.

I asked myself, as I would ask those other men who had not yet awakened from their delusion, is it not time to recognize your mistake when your country and your home are being ravaged and overridden? Is it not time to recognize that, when your wife and your daughter are outraged? Is it not time to recognize that the red blood in a man demands that he shall safeguard himself and his fellow man, or he ought to perish in the struggle?

Now there are some people who have said that this question of the declaration of war should have gone to a referendum vote. I wonder, if a band of a dozen or more men would endeavor to surround the home in which you live and then demand your surrender of your property, and in the meantime, while you are considering the subject, discharge their revolvers, killing your wife and your children—whether you would

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call a meeting for the deliberation of the subject and a vote as to whether you should defend yourself.

As one who has for nearly his whole life been an advocate of the initiative and the referendum in legislation as well as in the labor movement, I am free to say this—that if a situation occurred such as I have tried to outline to you, I would try to pull first before the other fellow got it on me.

Regardless of what the philosophy of men may be, I think no reasonable man or woman now believes that we can progress very long or very successfully without some law, without some authority being vested somewhere. The President of the United States has no such power as is in the hands of the Emperor of Germany. He cannot declare war. The only authority to declare war is the Congress of the United States.

Now, whether you like the Congress or you do not, for the sake of our consideration matters little. The fact is that the Congress of the United States is by common consent, by the law of our land, the Constitution of our Republic, invested with sole authority to declare war and to make war. These Senators and Representatives were elected by the people of the United States and without regard to party affiliations, when the Congress of the United States was made officially acquainted with all the wrongs committed against our people, with the murder of our people, by a practically unanimous vote the Congress declared that war should be waged against the Imperial German Government.

There is no other agency in the United States for declaring war against any other nation than the one

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provided by the Constitution. I am free to say that there may be better and safer means by which that authority may be held within its proper limitations, but I do not know them. In any event, we are at war and that is the consideration with which we must deal. The Republic of the United States has cast her lot with the allied countries fighting against the greatest military machine ever erected in the history of the world.

To ask the Government of the United States now to state specifically the terms of peace is to play, consciously or unconsciously, into the hands of the enemy. At this time the military machine of Germany and Austria is upon soil foreign to them. The military machine is in Serbia, is in Belgium—outraged Belgium—and in gallant France. A peace at this time must necessarily be predicated in part at least upon Germany's conquest of these countries and territories.

I may say, in passing, that this afternoon I walked through the corridor of the hotel where I am stopping and saw a newspaper in the hands of a gentleman—saw at a glance a flaring headline stating that "Germans are retreating from Flanders," and the thought flashed through my mind, "Yes, that is the beginning of the end."

Back from Flanders, back from Serbia, back from France; and then perhaps we may determine the conditions of peace, but not until then.

I am made ill when I see or hear of any one suffering the slightest pain or anguish, and yet I hold that it is essential that the sacrifice must be made so that humanity shall never again be cursed by a war such as

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the one which has been thrust upon us. May I say a word in regard to some labor men who are discontented or rather express themselves as if they were discontented with the condition in which we find ourselves in the United States by reason of our having been drawn into this war? They want to have the privilege of calling themselves conscientious objectors who are not participating in the fight.

I know that there are some religious, conscientious objectors. They are opposed to war under all circumstances. They are non-resisters and believe that that is the way out. That may be, somewhere in Timbuctoo, but not in Germany or France or Belgium or Serbia or the United States. But ask the men or women belonging to a labor organization what would be their attitude in the event of a conflict between their fellow workers on the one hand and the employers on the other?

And let me say this, that I hold that a man who is a traitor to his country is upon a par with the scab to his trade. I have a great appreciation and desire to see that the rights of the minority are protected. I believe that men have the right to express their dissent, but the expression of dissent is one thing and the organizing of a movement to destroy the will of the majority—*that is not right and cannot be tolerated!*

Realizing what was coming, I had firmly made up my mind that no matter what we did or left undone, the Republic of the United States would be dragged into this war by the Imperial German Government, and for good and sufficient reasons. Perhaps it might not be amiss if I just mention one or two.

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We have all declared that we are not engaged in this venture for profit, for aggrandizement. We are engaged in this war to make life and peace and freedom sure. As soon as the German armies were halted in France it upset the Kaiser's plans and meant his final undoing. As soon as that great Juggernaut had been stopped in its onward progress, that (as some labor men say) threw a monkey wrench in the machinery. From that time, without the ability to conquer, these statesmen and strategists of Germany, without question, undertook to entangle us or drag us into this war for some reason. One reason, that they supposed that we were a democracy and as a consequence we could not produce an efficient fighting machine in time to be of any injury to her.

And secondly, if we are in the war, the American Republic would be entitled to representatives around the table to determine conditions of peace; and that inasmuch as the people of our Republic and the Republic itself are altruistic and generous and kind, we would not want anything for ourselves in the form of annexation, but as a matter of fact, by reason of that as well as the reason of so many of our people being Teutonic by birth or extraction, and some by sympathy, the needs of the times would be that the United States' representatives would, in part at least, be friends of Germany in her great distress.

But whether my surmise was right or wrong, I was perfectly satisfied that that would come. And now, a month or more before the United States declared war, I counseled with the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor as to the advisability of call-

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ing a national conference for the purpose of discussing with the responsible officers of the labor movement of America, what the attitude of Labor, organized labor, should be—whether in peace, should we be vouchsafed peace, or in the event of war, should war be thrust upon us.

The conference was held, and upon March 12, 1917, a declaration given to the world as to the attitude of Labor either in peace or in war. That declaration was made nearly one month before war was declared. I am willing that the thoughtful men and women of our country and time should read that document. It will bear the test of investigation and criticism. The declaration was made by unanimous vote and upon the basis of that declaration the Council of National Defense in its Committee on Labor adopted a resolution to maintain the industrial standards of the working people of the United States during the war.

Perhaps through mistake, or from whatever reason or motive, the press of the country misinterpreted that declaration to mean that I had declared, in the name of the working people of the United States, that there would be no strikes during the war, and it was necessary for the Council of National Defense to adopt another declaration in the form of an amplification setting at rest any charge or insinuation that the Council had declared for the lowering of standards. But that did not stop the wagging of the vicious tongues. There is scarcely any one of those so-called organized pacifists against our movement and our country who would not repeat and emphasize the declaration that I had bound the working people of the country hand and

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foot to the capitalist class and to the Government of the country. No matter what explanations may be made, no matter how thoroughly their statements can be refuted, they repeat them, if possible, with greater emphasis.

The truth is, that as the result of the efforts made by the American Federation of Labor before war was declared the standards of American labor have been guaranteed to be maintained, and the rights to which the toilers and the masses of our people are rightly entitled will be guaranteed by the Government of our country.

In the midst of war there can be no discussion among those who have the guns trained upon them. As a result of the effort put forth by the organized labor movement, not only the declaration to which I have just referred and its amplification were made, but more than a month later the same agreement was accepted by the Secretary of War, Mr. Baker, a man of brilliant mind and of fine heart and type of character, and the President of the American Federation of Labor, by which the construction of cantonments all through the country should be carried on a basis of the union scale of wages, hours and conditions of labor.

The agreement was extended by the Secretary of War to cover all those plants and those establishments in which aeroplanes are constructed. And a few days after, the same agreement was accepted by the Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Daniels, to apply to all land construction work coming under the jurisdiction of the navy. The Shipping Board and the Emergency Fleet Corporation accepted the terms in more ampli-

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fied form. These agreements provide for the establishment of boards which shall be final boards of appeal, not only to maintain the standards, but to improve the standards as time and necessity may show. And upon the cantonment adjustment board is a representative of the War Department and a representative of the public, who, by the way, is no other person than that welfare worker, Walter Lippmann, and a representative of labor, appointed by the President of the American Federation of Labor. The President of the American Federation of Labor appointed John R. Alpine, the President of the Plumbers' and Steamfitters' Association and Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor. These boards are being extended as representative of the type of men that I have mentioned and as they would represent the particular industries.

And this is just the beginning. We are only in the initial stages of the war. If we can but maintain unity of spirit and solidarity of action, depend upon it that the great benefits which will accrue to the democracy of America and the democracy of the world cannot and will not be taken from us when this cruel war is over.

The fact of the matter is, men and women, in regard to that movement inaugurated to obstruct the Government in this great enterprise, the movement to play into the hands, consciously or unconsciously, I don't know which, of the enemy of our country, was to a very large degree a continuation of the policy directed against the American trade union movement.

The American Federation of Labor had secured the

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conditions and agreements, part of which I have called to your attention. Instead of recognizing these achievements in the interests of the workers and the masses of our people, it was purposely and maliciously misinterpreted to be a surrender to the Government and a surrender to the employing class of the United States.

For more than twenty-five years there has gone on in the United States a movement to destroy the American Federation of Labor, to organize dual bodies, to encourage secession, to discredit any achievement of the American labor movement, to throw odium and cast reflection upon the men and the women who dared to defend the fundamental principles and the high ideals of the American labor movement, to discredit them with their fellow-workers. Here was the opportunity sought. They launched their attack upon the American Federation of Labor and over its head upon the Government.

Well, I would rather that they would have had the opportunity of running themselves into seed than be dismembered by any other means. I was as confident as I now am that had that conference of the so-called People's Council been held in the city of Minneapolis and completed its work and we had followed it, as I took opportunity to say a few days ago at Jamestown, N. Y., when addressing the New York State Federation of Labor, we would have matched brains with brains, heart with heart, service with disservice, and loyalty against disloyalty and shown the world the stuff of which we are made.

I should also say, in passing, that it was because they

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had determined to have their meeting in Minneapolis that it appeared to my mind, and I prevailed upon my associates, that the psychological place for us to meet was in Minneapolis and not any other city in the country.

We are at war. Regardless of from which country we may have come or from which country our ancestors may have come, we are all here in this great melting pot of America. There is none of us who is going back to the old country to stay there. Our children are here. All our hope for the future is here. Our sacred dead are here. The people of these United States are confronted with the great problem of self-government—self-government, not a government which can be overturned in the night and created anew in the morning. We do not, and cannot, have progressive, humanitarian, liberty-protecting government when government can be overturned in the twinkling of an eye or the turning of a hand. We want a government flexible, capable of improvement as our conscience and our intelligence quicken, as our understanding broadens and our hearts are touched with humanitarian impulses, with the understanding and the desire to do the right, to help bear our brothers' burdens, to recognize that the meanest among us is entitled to the consideration and the protection of the strong, to do all that man can do for his fellows, to be willing to bear the burden and the responsibilities which are entailed in the doing of the right.

May I take your time in reading a few stanzas of the poem by John Neihardt, called "The Battle Cry"?

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I can imagine the soldiers fighting against the German Government expressing it.

More than half beaten, but fearless,
Facing the storm and the night;
Breathless and reeling, but tearless,
Here in the lull of the fight,
I who bow not but before Thee,
God of the fighting clan,
Lifting my fists I implore Thee,
Give me the heart of a Man!

What though I live with the winners,
Or perish with those who fall,
Only the cowards are sinners,
Fighting the fight is all.
Strong is my foe—he advances!
Snapt is my blade, O Lord!
See the proud banners and lances!
Oh, spare me this stub of a sword!

Give me no pity, nor spare me,
Calm not the wrath of my foe;
See where he beckons to dare me!
Bleeding, half beaten,—I go.
Not for the glory of winning,
But for the fear of the night;
Shunning the battle is sinning—
Oh, spare me the heart to fight!

Red is the mist about me;
Deep is the wound in my side;
“Coward” thou criest to flout me,
O terrible foe, thou hast lied!
Here with my battle before me,
God of the fighting clan,
Grant that the woman who bore me
Suffered to suckle a man!

God grant that we may soon have this tranquilizing peace of which philosophers have dreamed and poets have sung, but peace, when it comes, must mean

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the crushing of militarism for all time that the peoples of the world shall have the opportunity of living their own lives, of working out their own destinies.

This is the message I bring to you which I hope, with that message of our great President of the United States and of our great temporary chairman of this morning, may aid, with your voices in glad acclaim, in bringing courage and hope and triumph to the cause of justice, freedom and democracy.

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Let us defer questions which can be deferred, questions that are likely to divide us in this war; let us remain united and fight it out no matter how long we fight—until America and America's allies shall prove victorious in the struggle.

At a meeting under the auspices of the National Security League in Chicago, Ill., September 14th, 1917.

THREE is such a thing as humility. There is such a thing as patience. But when some bully undertakes to make an assault upon an innocent, peace-loving man or woman, patience ceases to be a virtue and humility brings the brand of cowardice. That was the position in which the United States found itself as a nation by the repeated insults and assaults upon the character and upon the lives of our people, our men, our women and our innocent children.

There is one thought in connection with the atrocious murder of our people in the case of our torpedoed boats. I ask you, my friends, to consider for a moment the fact that the German Ambassador, Count von Bernstorff, a few days before the sailing of the Lusitania, had an advertisement in the newspapers of our country, warning the people of the United States against taking passage on the Lusitania, and advising them that there was danger in their taking passage on that vessel. The impudence of the whole transaction

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caused a smile to spread over the countenances of the people of the United States. They thought it a hoax, a jest of a very, very somber character, and many of them took passage, and then within a few days the great ship went on her way, where she had a perfect right to go.

Nearly 2,000 souls boarded that vessel before her departure. More than 150 American men and women and children were on that vessel when she sailed; she was torpedoed without a moment's warning, and all of them sent to the waters and more than 1,500 human souls, of which more than 100 were American men and women and children, were sent to a watery grave.

I ask you, my friends, to reverse the position for a moment. Suppose our Ambassador at Berlin, Mr. Gerard, had placed an advertisement in the newspapers of Germany advising the German people against taking passage on a steamer to go to any port that that steamer and her master had a right to go, and suppose further that some American U-boat had sent a torpedo into that merchant ship, and suppose that there had been 100 or more German men, women and children sent to an untimely grave, what do you think the treatment of Gerard would have been at the hands of the Kaiser? Do you think for a moment that there would have been any further parley with Gerard or the Government of the United States? Is it possible to imagine that with Germany's mental attitude Gerard would have been given his passports? Or is it not in keeping with the whole policy of "Kultur" that Gerard would have paid the penalty with his life?

Surely, it would be untimely and inappropriate did

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I attempt or did any one attempt to interject any political issue in this campaign of education and Americanism in our country. But I ask you, my friends, whether it is not true that considerable of the opposition to the re-election of Mr. Wilson to the Presidency was based on the accusation that he had too long kept us out of war? It is doubtful if there has been in history a more patient yet courageous man to meet a great emergency than Woodrow Wilson. It was for more than two years that President Wilson pursued his policy, basing his position upon the belief that there was some honor at the core, possibly to be discovered, of the German Imperial Government. He was misled into the belief that there was some honor in German diplomacy. He finally discovered that there comes a time, and that the time had come, when men would be too proud not to fight.

To me it seemed that the entrance of our Republic into this conflict had been too long delayed, but as a loyal citizen I yielded to the judgment of the Commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States. I felt that the time was near at hand when the outrages would increase in such numbers and in such horror that in self-respect we would take advantage of the current as it served or we would lose our ventures.

We have entered into this struggle, and there can be no let-up from the time of our declaration of war until either Imperial Germany, with her militarism, shall surrender to the democracies of the world or the democracies shall crush Germany.

We have heard the cries of a few of our people
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echoing the wishes and the hope of defeated Germany to-day. I say defeated Germany, although she is not conquered by any means. But Germany is defeated in the objects for which she entered into the war. We have heard an element here and there crying out in the wilderness, for it finds no lodgment in the conscience or the hearts of red-blooded men, "Peace! Peace!" Yes, I have seen it printed in newspapers, taken up by other pacifists, so-called, masking under the name of pacifists, but through ignorance or pro-Germanism, I do not know which, they have declared: "Why not now?"

Let us bear this fact in mind, that Germany and Austria are still fighting on land invaded by them. If we were to consent to peace to-day, without the surrender of Kaiserism, in all history written in the future the Teutonic forces would be given the credit and the prestige of being the conqueror in this war. There can be no peace, not while there is a Teuton on the soil of glorious France. There can be no peace, and there must not be any peace, until the Teutons are driven back, back, from outraged Belgium.

There cannot be any peace until the people of the world who love peace and liberty more than their own lives, are assured that never again shall it be possible for Germany or Austria, or any other country for that matter, to make such a bloody war upon the freedom of the people. To me it is a subject of much obscurity how it is physically or mentally possible for any man who loves liberty, who is a native or a naturalized citizen of the United States, to make even

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the slightest manifestation of objection to the prosecution of this war until the final end.

I grieve that many of our poor boys may fall, and God grant that but few shall fall or be hurt, but I ask you, my friends, to think back whether there is any one among you who can trace some distant ancestor who fought in the Revolution to establish this Republic and give to the world not only a new nation, but a new meaning of the rights of man. Is there any one among you who begrudges the sacrifice of any man who gave his life in order that that great privilege should be established? Who among our men, who among our women, regrets even the sacrifices that were made during our Civil War to abolish human slavery and to maintain the Union? Who among us regrets the sacrifices that were made to rescue Cuba from the domination of Spain and make her an independent republic? Why, all our hearts throb and our whole beings thrill when we can trace one who gave some contributory effort or sacrifice in order that these great achievements should lie as the successes of our country.

That which we call freedom, that which we call liberty, are not tangible things. They are not handed to any people on a silver platter. They are principles, they are questions of the spirit, and people must have a consciousness that they not only have the term liberty and freedom, but they must have the power and the right to exercise these great attributes of life.

And if liberty, freedom, justice and democracy are not meaningless terms, they are worth something to us. They are too priceless to surrender without a struggle,

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and he who is unwilling to fight for freedom is undeserving to enjoy that freedom.

May I suggest this: It is proposed as a result of a great conference which closed in Minneapolis a week ago to-night, so far as possible to let every controversial question be laid on the table until after the war is closed. Of course, my friends, I would not have you or any one else interpret that statement to mean that the human aspiration for a better life can be or will be suppressed; that ought to be encouraged; but shall we array church against church, party against party, religion against religion, politics against politics, nationality against nationality, aye, even the question of raising funds to carry on the war, the bonds that are to be issued? Let us do our share to see to it that Uncle Sam has the fighting men and the men to produce at home and the money with which to carry on the war. Let us defer questions which can be deferred, questions that are likely to divide any appreciable element of our people in this war; let us remain united and fight it out, no matter how long we fight, until America and America's allies shall have proved victorious in the struggle.

To me the term America is more than a name. It is more than a country. It is more than a continent. To me America is a symbol of the ideas and the ideals for human betterment and human justice among the peoples of the world. Perhaps it may be strengthened by hope, but somehow there is a sub-consciousness in me that tells me that when for the first time in the history of the world a Teutonic army shall face the soldiers of the United States with the flag, the Star-

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Spangled Banner, waving above them, it will penetrate the very souls of the men in the German uniform. In all their fights they have met men carrying the standards that Germany hated. They have never yet come in contact with Old Glory.

I ought to say, my friends, that the policy pursued by the government of the United States in this war, in matters of development and growth and preparation, amazes those who are permitted to know the truth. Some day, my friends, you and I, who may be kept from all the information just now, will know what marvels America has wrought within these past few months. And then, too, we have started out on a different line of action from that followed in any previous wars in which we or any of the other countries on the globe had entered. It is to the honor of the committee of which I am Chairman, that, as a member of the Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defense, the bill was drafted that provides not only for compensation for injured soldiers and sailors and for their dependents, but also an opportunity of insurance, so that if any of the men come back injured they at least shall have the insurance to give them and their dependents an opportunity to live in some degree of comfort, the opportunity of increasing their pay so that they can afford to lay something away, so that when they return they shall have something as a nest-egg to give for themselves or to give to their families. We have tried to formulate a measure that shall relieve for all time the people of our country from the scandals and the injustice of the old pension system, but at the same time taking into consideration

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our experience of the difference of the industrial and employers' liability acts, and the substitution of compensation for workmen so as to apply it to the soldiers and the sailors of Uncle Sam. We hope that the boys who are already in France and the boys who are going over to France shall have their minds free from the worry that their families might possibly go down in the standard of life in our communities. We want the boys of Uncle Sam fighting for us to feel that America, great America, will stand by them or those they may possibly leave behind them. And I am proud to say that that measure passed the House of Representatives yesterday by an almost unanimous vote.

We do not know now just exactly what sacrifices we may be called upon to make. Let us pray and hope and work that they may be few, if any at all; but this we feel assured of, from the President down to every one aiding him in the great work of carrying on the war, it is the purpose that the home shall be maintained, that the standard of American life shall not go down, but shall be maintained throughout the war.

We must make it possible that our fighting force shall be provided with every necessity to fight and every means contributing to their subsistence and comfort, and that the American people shall go on in their economic, industrial, social and spiritual life just as well as it is possible to do, and so, when it is necessary to make additional sacrifices, we shall—you, and you, and you—the people of Chicago, the people of Illinois, the people of the United States, stand as one solid

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phalanx of the manhood and the womanhood of the people of our country, of our Republic, united, determined to stand by our cause and our gallant Allies until the world has been made safe for freedom, for justice, for democracy, for humanity.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION FOR FIGHTERS

When the soldiers go to the front they know that the standards at home of the wife, of the sister or child or parent, will be maintained while they are fighting.

Meeting of National Army Officers in Senate Office Building, assembled to learn the workings of the Soldiers and Sailors Separation and Insurance Bill originated by Mr. Gompers' Committee on Labor. Washington, D. C., October 16th, 1917.

THE law enacted is without question one of the greatest pieces of constructive, intelligent and humane legislation ever enacted by the Congress of the United States or any parliamentary body of any country in the world. When we started out into the maelstrom scarcely any one knew exactly where we would land. We knew that the old system of pensions was wrong. We knew that the old system of pensions was one of grave injustice to many and of a considerable degree of favoritism to others. While that was unjust and discouraging, there was another and an exceedingly important feature in connection with pensions. More than likely you are as familiar as any one can be with the fact that as the result of our Civil War and as the result of the Spanish-American War, but particularly the Civil War, the question of pensions was made a political issue, with the one

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party regarded as the more liberal and generous in its treatment of the soldier and the sailor or the family and the dependents of the soldiers and sailors who had been killed, and the other political party supposed to be against generous treatment of America's soldiers and sailors. So, between the two political parties, the subject of pensions was made the shuttlecock to be driven hither and thither, for partisan and political advantage rather than for the best interests of the men who gave their lives or the families who were dependent upon the departed soldiers and sailors.

The idea at that time was to cater to the old soldiers and sailors, to capture their vote. In many, many, Congressional districts, at elections, the result was determined not upon any question of the governmental agency to do good for the people of the country but upon the question whether there should be generous or niggardly pensions for the soldiers. Presidential elections were being determined by the soldiers' vote, by the vote of the people upon the issue of pensions.

As I say, quite apart from the humanitarian side, quite apart from a constructive policy, and quite apart from the great moral influence that this measure would have upon our fighting boys and their dependents, there was also another great thought in our minds; and that was to take this question of insurance and compensation for the soldiers and sailors and their dependents out of the arena of politics and political dissensions and make it a proposition that would be automatic, regardless of party. The men who were giving so much of their lives, and perhaps their lives, for the cause of this Republic of ours, for the cause for

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which our country entered into the war, the cause of standing by the ideals of freedom and democracy, deserved at least that their minds be relieved of any worry that might come to them were it otherwise, so when they go to the front, they know that the standards at home of the wife, of the sister or child or parent shall be maintained while they are fighting for us who are at home.

We started with a good guide in this. Under the old concept, which prevailed for more than two hundred years, the employer of workers had had a sort of responsibility under what were known as Employers' Liability Laws, but he also had defenses which usually denied or refused justice to the workers injured, or the families of the workers killed, so that it was practically impossible to receive anything tangible or adequate through the courts. Within these past twenty years there has come a change from the old Employers' Liability to Workmen's Compensation, a change which takes out of the arena of industry and industrial accidents the litigation involved in suits for recovery and substitutes in its stead a system of automatic compensation for injuries or for death. It was realized that all accidents cannot be avoided despite the best of protection and precaution.

There is a percentage of accidents that seem to be inevitable. Still the industry should bear the responsibility of all accidents, and thus automatically give compensation to the injured worker or compensation to the dependent of a worker killed.

We took this thought and principle as a model and so, instead of having the principle of employers' li-

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ability apply to the men in the service, we decided that the Government should take this broader, newer, social-conscience proposition, regard the soldiers and the sailors as employees of the Government of the United States, and automatically apply the principle of workmen's compensation to them.

I am more pleased than I can tell you in words that you will have the pleasure of hearing from the Honorable Julian W. Mack at this afternoon's session. I considered it one of the greatest honors that has ever been conferred upon me when I asked Judge Mack to be chairman of the committee to draft this measure. He gave up the entire summer to which he was entitled as a vacation, and put in so many hours of every day on this work. I am sure his modesty would not permit him to mention it, much less to give any details. But day after day, every day, sixteen, eighteen or more hours were not too many for him to devote to the constructive work of the bill, now a law. With him were associated a number of men who did splendid contributory service but to no other man in the same degree belongs the credit for this comprehensive measure. He will address you this afternoon and if you want to have some good fun, if you want to know what this law contains, if you want to have it indelibly impressed upon your minds, after he gets through with his masterful address—I am sure he couldn't make any other—you ask him questions upon anything about which you have any doubt; just grill him, and accept my assurance that you will be well rewarded with his answers.

While talking to so many of the officers and men

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in the Army and Navy of the country, I cannot refrain from saying just a word in regard to the subject of our own war. It may be entirely extraneous for me to do it and to take up time that others should occupy. But, men, to me this war is the greatest event in human history since the Creation. This is the time that civilization is really in the balance. The man who will not fight for that, the man who will not assume willingly the risk of his life that freedom and justice and democracy may live, is unworthy to live in a civilized democratic country.

There was a time in my life when—ah!—and a major portion of it, until very recently, that is, until the breaking out of this war—when there was no man in all the world to whom I would take second place in my pacifism. But when I found in this great militarist machine, this imperialist machine of Germany, the men who had pledged themselves with others and with me to go to extremes in order to maintain international peace, when I saw these men wantonly and flagrantly trampling under foot their pledges of international peace, when I found that these men responded to the call of their Kaiser, and found that they were invading innocent Belgium and were on their way to France—I decided he who could not understand at that time that peace propaganda was simply a movement of the military juggernaut to crush the spirit of the men of the world, was a man bereft of ordinary common sense and understanding. When I saw this response to the colors to crush the spirit of freedom and democracy throughout the world, I was ready to fight!

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But if you are less interested in my viewpoint, yet we are all of us interested in this fact. This you know, that Mr. Daniels was one of the most pronounced pacifists in America. You know that Mr. Baker was one of the most pronounced pacifists in America and stood shoulder to shoulder upon that principle with Secretary Daniels. You know, too, that the President of the United States, only little more than a year ago, declared that the people who are conscious of right may be too proud to fight. He was such an ultra-pacifist that he believed—and no one questions his absolute sincerity—he believed in the righteousness and the conscientiousness of a cause, hence, it would not be necessary to fight.

Events have demonstrated the fact, and he had come to another conclusion when he appeared before the Congress of the United States on the evening of April 2nd,—that there comes a time in the history of a people when they must be too proud NOT to fight. And so, the great leaders of our Government, pacifists, and so the great rank and file of American citizenship, pacifists, and anti-militarists, are engaged in this war to give up every dollar, every ounce of energy, and if necessary, our lives, that we may have peace, enduring peace, and are fighting in order that militarism and imperialism shall be wiped off the face of the earth.

A CRUSADE FOR FREEDOM

Whether we will it or not, it is writ in the stars that we must fight and fight on until freedom has been achieved.

Anti-Disloyalty Mass Meeting in Carnegie Hall, New York City, November 2nd, 1917.

THERE is a very deep significance to the men of labor in all that is involved in this world struggle. From by-gone ages, the men of wealth and title were free, wherever they lived. It is always the poor, the workers who have suffered tyranny and injustice wherever tyranny and injustice existed. The United States of America is not a perfect organization. It has not eliminated every vestige of injustice and wrong, but it is by big odds the greatest justice-dealing, liberty-loving nation on the face of the globe.

The incidents which occurred one after another,—the attempt to corrupt our life, political, industrial and commercial, the effort to suborn our people and then following it, a propaganda that undertook to deny us the right to go where international law plainly guaranteed we had the right to be and to go, the attempt upon the lives and then the murder of hundreds of peaceable people, non-combatants, people engaged in lawful pursuits, the killing, the murdering of our innocent men and women and children, upon the high

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seas—was there to be no limit to our forbearance or our patience?

The President of the United States came in for a great deal of criticism because he tried to avoid our entrance into the war. Some in their criticism not only ridiculed him, but indulged in language more forcible than elegant or polite. Aye, the German press ridiculed the President of the United States because he had sent so many letters and protests and notes.

Finally, after the sinking of more of our ships, and the killing of more of our people, despite the pledge which was made by the German Imperial Government, the President finally brought the entire situation before the Congress of the United States and the Congress, exercising its constitutional function, declared that because of the acts of the Imperial Government of Germany, hostile and destructive to the people, to the lives, to the safety of our nation, war should be made upon the Imperial German Government. Congress is the only constituted authority in America that had the power to declare war. To the pacifists who say, "Why not submit the question of war to the people of the United States for a vote?" I say, will any pacifist, now or hereafter, tell me by what authority such a question could be submitted to the people?

And if some authority could be provided, how long would it take for the people to have the power and the authority to determine whether we shall have peace or war? To amend the constitution of the United States would take not less than two or three or five or six years. In the meantime—the Kaiser *über* Allies.

No one is justified in assuming to be a prophet. But

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may I venture this thought, that the future historian will write something after this fashion; what the Declaration of Independence meant in creating this new nation in the world and giving a new meaning to the rights of man, to the establishment of the principles of justice and freedom and democracy—what the Declaration of Independence meant to the people of the United States of America, the declaration of war by the United States will mean to every people of all the nations of the world. This was a war. To-day, and since the entrance of the United States into this Titanic struggle, it is no longer a war—it is a crusade for freedom and justice!

Some have said that they want an immediate peace. I ask you, my friends, and I pray that you may ask any one who urges an immediate peace, what the meaning of it all would be. Suppose we could establish peace this very night and wake up to-morrow morning with this war ended, what would it mean? What would it mean? The plan of the militarist machine of Germany was to dominate the world. It has practically put Belgium, Serbia and Roumania out of existence as nations. Of course they will be revived, we will revive them—we must revive them. I could not allow myself to finish the sentence without interjecting that thought, lest there might be in the mind of some one the thought that I had any doubt as to the final outcome of this struggle.

With peace to-morrow morning, the Kaiser's military machine has won, the whole history of the world for all time must write down that the militarist machine of the Kaiser has been victorious. Part of Rus-

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sia overrun, part of Italy overrun, part of France overrun—the only thing that stands between the military machine and the naval machine of Germany, are the navies of England and France.

A peace to-morrow morning is a justification of the policy of German militarism and the mere postponement of the balance of the fight to some other time. We are in this war, men and women—we are in this war! We may never again find the civilized nations, the democracies of the world, so united against autocracy and militarism.

The time was not of our choosing. The psychology of it, however, is here. Whether we will it or not, it is writ in the stars that we must fight and fight and fight on until freedom has been achieved. Russia was betrayed by her Czar and now, through the workings of German diplomatic intrigue, lies weak, so weak, that no one can tell what the immediate future of that country will be. Here we are as a nation, a Republic based more upon voluntary service than any other country on the face of the globe. Is the confidence which is placed in us to give voluntary, patriotic, humanitarian service, to be regarded as a misplaced confidence or are we going to respond with the spirit of the volunteer who will give his all that justice and right shall prevail? Shall we permit this spreading of that same poison of German diplomatic intrigue among our own people, that we too shall be as impotent as Russia seems to be to-day? The men of labor with a deep, if not the deepest, interest in the success of democracy and the power of self-expression that democracy may be shown not to be inefficient but the most efficient

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power existing in all the world, we, you and I, men and women who have believed in everlasting universal peace, are discovering this fact, that militarism, wherever it has existed, was thoroughly organized, while the advocates of peace were loose-jointed, and had no opportunity to give concrete expression not only to their views but to their hopes, and to preserve their lives.

We are going to fight. We are going to win this war. And when this war is over the advocates and adherents and lovers of peace will be organized, and will destroy the militarist machine. Yes, we will have peace. But first, before we proceed to discuss the terms of peace, or to confer relative to peace, the Kaiser and his army must get out of Serbia, must get out of outraged Belgium, must get out of gallant France. They must get back. The sacrifices demanded will be great, the travail and pain will be great, but as a result of it all, the world will be rejuvenated, the world will be reborn and the injustice of man to man will be a thing of the past. The social conscience of the world is being aroused. Yes, it is painful to think of the great wrongs and the great injustice we have suffered. Of course, many of us will feel the pang of sons lost or wounded, but my friends, the men and women who were the fathers and the mothers of our colonial army, who took up the cudgels to make the fight that the Republic of the United States might be a fact, did not flinch at suffering. And now, is there any one in our time who regrets that one of his kith and kin was in that revolution, made the supreme sacrifice? In the great Civil

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War, when the maintenance of the nation and the abolition of human slavery in our country were at stake,—the men and the women who gave up their sons, their brothers, in that fight,—is there a man or a woman to-day but who is proud if he can link himself to one who did something to save the nation and abolish slavery? And so, when the time shall come when your brother or son, or my brother or my son shall have made the supreme sacrifice, it will eat to the very vitals of our being, but he who would not fight to maintain the integrity of the Republic of the United States, and of our Allies and our common ideals, does not deserve to enjoy the privileges of life in our country.

I would call your attention, my friends, to the fact that more than a month before the declaration of war, it was my privilege to call a great conference of the representatives of the organized labor of America for the purpose of discussing and declaring the attitude which labor would take, whether in peace or in war. Before I read a paragraph of that declaration, I desire to say that the President of the United States, the executive officers of the departments and the Council of National Defense have made declarations to the effect that the standards of life and of law for the protection and promotion of the rights, the interests and the welfare of the workers, shall be maintained, improved, but not lowered.

I want to close with a short paragraph of the declaration made by the official, responsible officers of the American Labor Movement:

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We, the officers of the National and International Trades Unions of America, in national conference assembled in the capital of our nation, hereby pledge ourselves, in peace or in war, in stress or in storm, to stand unreservedly by the standards of liberty and the safety and preservation of the institutions and ideals of our republic. In this solemn hour of our nation's life, it is our earnest hope that our republic may be safeguarded in its unwavering desire for peace, that our people may be spared the horrors and the burdens of war, that they may have the opportunity to cultivate and develop the arts of peace, human brotherhood and civilization. But despite all our endeavors and hopes, should our country be drawn into the maelstrom of the European conflict, we, with these ideals of liberty and justice herein declared as the indispensable basis for national policies, offer our services to our country in every field of activity, to defend, safeguard the Republic of the United States of America against its enemies, whomsoever they may be, and we call upon our fellow workers and fellow citizens in the holy name of liberty, justice, freedom and humanity, to devotedly and patriotically give like service.

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Do not for a moment imagine that, after this war, we are going back to the old conditions. New relations must be established and new understandings reached. Men and women who labor can no longer be disregarded by the powers that be.

For thousands of years the question has remained: Am I my brother's keeper? Yes, you are your brother's keeper, because, unless you bear his burdens, he will help tear you down.

Canadian Victory Loan Meeting at the Armories, Toronto, November 28th, 1917.

SOMEHOW or other there is a destiny which shapes our ends, rough hew them as we will, and it is a pressing thought upon my mind that there is a destiny which is shaping all that we hold dear; that is crystallizing the thought and the activities of the peoples of the democracies of the world, so that the ideals for which we are striving shall find their expression translated into the realities of life. There are some people who, touched with the enormity of the sacrifices which are being made and which may yet have to be made, are horror-stricken and terror-stricken at it all; and in a large part I share their feelings of horror and terror. It seems to be a fact of life that there is little worth while in the achievements of the human race unless it is sanctified by the blood of man. This utterance of mine, I venture to ask

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you to believe me, would not have passed my lips a little more than three years ago.

From my very earliest young manhood it was my proud boast and it was my intense belief that there would not again occur any large interruption of the international peace of the world. I was a pacifist "par excellence."

I am taking you into my confidence in telling you that I had been approached on many occasions to have my peace utterances done up in some sort of book form in order that they might be spread throughout America and elsewhere. At last the Carnegie Peace Association prevailed upon me to turn over all that which I had spoken and written upon the subject of international peace and then I gave it over to the printer. I wanted to edit or revise it because there were some thoughts that might have been crudely expressed. Those who conferred with me told me that it was not necessary to revise it at all because what was there showed "growth and development" and I was again convinced that they were right.

Then, lo and behold, in August, 1914, I found myself just howling in the wilderness. I had been befuddled and fooled by a schemer and deviser unparalleled in the history of the world, and out of an almost clear sky came the declaration of war by the Imperial German Kaiser. At the command of this militarist, this imperialist, the peoples of the world were set at each others' throats. I immediately went to the printer and got hold of that damn-fool stuff and took it back.

I have sometimes a private opinion on certain mat-

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ters but the man who will not change his opinion when facts are presented to disprove that opinion, is very much like the man who said, "To argue with a man who has bidden good-by to his reason is like giving medicine to the dead."

These utterances of mine in regard to eternal peace and against international war will have to be revised after the close of the war when victory and triumph shall have been won. For I verily believe that when —mark you, I do not say if—when we shall have triumphed in this war, there will be no more great militarist preparations in the great countries of the world.

His Imperial Majesty who broke all the laws of God and man in inaugurating this war perhaps did not know the host with which he would have to deal. He had been planning and scheming for nearly half a century. You will remember that the Emperor of Germany had made the people believe that his preparation and his great army were for the purpose of maintaining the peace of the world. When he was called the War Lord, he would endeavor to explain and to make the people of the world understand or believe that his whole purpose was that of maintaining international peace. And now I ask you to consider for a moment whether it is not true that these false pretenses made by him and his underlings were really intended and planned to lull the people of the world into a fancied security, so that they would feel that it was not necessary to prepare themselves against any aggression on his part.

And I may say in passing, that the plan of the whole imperialist machine of Germany was intended to be

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conveyed in thought to the people of the whole world.

If there be any members of the Socialist Party in this city or in this audience, I ask that you and they consider this fact; if you read the philosophy of the German Socialist school, you will find that it is patterned after the autocratic power of the Imperial German Government; that it is at variance with and in opposition to the great labor movement as expressed by the trade unions of the world. In our trade unions we represent in fact and in philosophy the fundamental principle of voluntarily and individually yielding a certain amount of our rights in order that all our other rights may be protected and advanced. Under the scheme of the German school of Socialist philosophy, there is the thought that everything must be done by the government and the individual must lose himself.

There has never been a congress of labor to which a representative of the German Socialist party and the German Socialist philosophy has not endeavored to break in and break through. There has never been any assemblage of the organized labor movement in America, Canada, England, or any other country, France included, but that an endeavor has been made to foist upon this labor movement the German militarist idea as modified and understood by German Socialism. In all international and national conferences, their influences have operated and I freely admit to you that it was impossible for me to make myself proof against the influences they brought to bear—the sophistry they brought to bear, in so far as I be-

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lieved them to be sincere in their advocacy of international peace.

So far as their other "bunk" is concerned there is nothing in it for me. For there never was more sophistry contained in any pretended philosophy than there is in that which is embodied in German Socialism. It is an effort to hypnotize and chloroform the world into a fancied security while they are playing their part splendidly in support of the militarism of their country in order that it may dominate the world. I ask you whether in the face of all that has been done—the flagrant violation of international law, the violation of every moral law, the violation of every treaty, the violation of every promise and pledge—is it not time for the manhood of our countries to rally in the defense of all that is left for manhood and womanhood to revere?

I have heard, as you have heard, of conscientious objectors. You have heard, as I have heard, of those who are now pacifists. I want to ask you whether you can transplant your mind—I cannot imagine you transplanting your bodies—to Berlin and then inquire of yourselves what you think his Imperial Majesty, the Kaiser, would say to any one who declared himself a pacifist or a conscientious objector. There was one pacifist, one conscientious objector, in Germany, Dr. Karl Liebknecht, and the Kaiser and his Government immediately put him in prison.

Is it possible that we have so far forgotten the spirit of our race, have we so far been unable to appreciate the development of the human race, that we cannot or will not do our duty? The ordinary citizen

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goes home at night, locks the doors and goes restfully to sleep, but when there is a band of murderers who threaten and by physical force endanger the lives not only of himself but of his wife and little ones, when he knows that some of his neighbors have been robbed and ravished, who could be the conscientious objector or pacifist who would not rise with his fellows in the defense of his home and his family?

Perhaps I am making an excuse for myself for my change, transition or development from pacifist to fighting man. Whether I am or not I hold that facts, not theory, have demonstrated the view I maintained to be unsound, and confronted with the facts of my time, I hold that any man in France, England, America, Canada or any other democratic country which enjoys the freedom and privileges of free institutions, who would not fight in defense of them is a coward and a poltroon.

I have heard some men criticise me rather severely because I have counseled my fellow workers in the United States against participation at this time in international conferences in which representatives of the enemy country would participate. Whatever people have said about me, no one has accused me of being a fool. You can perhaps fool me personally quite easily but it is not easy, I think, to catch me napping on any big question. My belief is that when these invitations to international conferences were sent out from Petrograd, or Stockholm or Berne, they were already more or less tainted with German militarist sympathies. You never have heard any German representative or any one with German sympathies

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urge an international conference of labor so long as it seemed likely that the Kaiser's forces were marching triumphantly on Calais or Paris. As soon as the German forces were checked it upset the whole plans of the Kaiser, because there was nothing in their whole plan of forty years' preparation but that looked toward the onward march of the militarist machine, over-riding and crushing everything before it like a juggernaut. After the halt that was the beginning of the end. The intrigues in the other countries began and international conferences were proposed.

There is not the slightest feeling of bitterness or hatred in my heart or soul against any human being on earth but for the Kaiser. I would like to see him somewhere so that he could do no more harm—probably St. Helena or some such place. The mischief-maker must be guarded. Our fight is not alone for the existence of the democracies of the world. The German people must crush militarism and imperialism from within or the democracies of the world must crush Kaiserism from without and introduce democracy into that country.

Look to any of the countries of the whole world, make a mental survey of them and answer for yourself the question: are any of the countries of the world neutral? Look to Holland, Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries. Awed by the example of the ravishment of Belgium and with the great military machine of Germany yet to a considerable extent powerful, Holland, Switzerland, Norway, Sweden and Denmark have become rich by serving the needs of Germany and have been paid in the promissory notes

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of Germany. If Germany wins, a plethora of wealth will flow into these countries. If Germany loses, then these countries are practically bankrupt. Neutral countries! Neutral minds! There "ain't no such animal!" Either fish or cut bait; either fight or buy Victory Bonds.

The time has gone by when we can view this war as a proposition academic in its character. It is removed from that realm and we are now in the arena of the world's fight for life and decent living. I hope I shall be able to avoid, and I shall try to avoid, any interference in the internal affairs of the Dominion, but I hold it to be a first duty of every Canadian by birth or by citizenship to do everything within his power to unite the people in winning this war. I know something of the differences of your political parties, both of the immediate past and the distant past. I cannot say that their choice has always been wisest. You make the same mistakes that we make in the United States, but that is not the question. You may differ on many things when conditions of peace prevail, and let me say here I am not going to discuss the wisdom or unwisdom of Canada joining in the war. Suffice it for me to express the opinion that your entrance into the war was wise, patriotic, and human, but whether that is true or not is not the question. The fact is that you are at war and the duly constituted authorities of the Dominion of Canada have in a lawful way entered into this conflict. It is no longer, therefore, a matter for academic discussion. It is a matter of fact with which you have to deal; and having entered the war, the people of Canada, without

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regard to political opinions, without regard to religion or any other difference, ought to stand united in one solid phalanx to bring victory and glory to the Dominion and every other nation in the fight for freedom and democracy.

In addition to having been a pacifist I was a believer, and am still a staunch believer, in free institutions and the freedom of actions of men and women. I am opposed to force whenever and wherever it can be avoided, and when the question of conscription came up as a practical question in the United States, I opposed it. I hold that, at least, voluntary institutions should first be put to the final test before compulsion is employed. But the Congress of the United States in its lawful right ordained that there should be selective draft conscription. While I used every influence to prevent it, I failed in my object. The Congress of the United States, the duly constituted authority of my country, decreed otherwise. The decision was made and I held and shall hold it to be the duty of every American citizen in time of war to obey the decision rightfully and lawfully reached. It is all very good when we are at peace to battle with each other for the supremacy of our ideals, but when the duly constituted authority in time of war arrives at a conclusion it is no longer a subject to discuss.

A few weeks ago a Russian came to my office in Washington, and while we were discussing certain matters he was seriously asked the question whether he approved of the idea being proclaimed by some Russian leaders that there should be a vote by the soldiers whether or not a particular advance should be made.

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He answered yes. He really believed it. Can you imagine a great army corps covering an area of two, three or four hundred miles, and each regiment and each company voting on the question of whether they should advance or retreat? And just imagine one regiment voting aye and another voting no! What wonderful discipline and effectiveness there would be in such an army! I wonder where General Haig would be if that system prevailed in the forces of the British, Canadian or Australian boys? This is war. This is not playing a game of war, and when the Congress of the United States or the Parliament of Canada has decreed lawfully a certain course, it is the duty of every man to stand by and see that that policy is put into successful operation. The same is equally true of the general staff of any army. When the Commander in Chief issues an order it is the duty of every soldier to obey.

I know some people have criticised my change from pacifism to the attitude I now hold in aiding my country in the war and the cause for which we are united. The United States is not and never has been in a war of aggression. It has been altruistic. I think you will agree there is no public man in the world who has been more severely criticised for his actions than the honored head of the American republic, President Woodrow Wilson. Sometimes I have had occasion to be in Buffalo and have taken advantage of the opportunity to see some old friends on the border. I know they were kindly disposed towards me and they were not hostile to the President but their criticism of Mr. Wilson was severe because he was writing notes

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and was not doing anything but sending notes. You know that the President declared some time ago that there were some people who felt themselves so justified and morally right that they were too proud to fight. He believed, and I am satisfied he believed sincerely, in the honesty of the pledges made by the Imperial German Government for reparation and the stoppage of the wholesale murder of innocent women and children. Do you know that Mr. Wilson is a pacifist? Secretary Lansing is a pacifist. Secretary of War Baker is a pacifist. Secretary Daniels of the Navy is a pacifist. The Secretary of Agriculture, Professor Houston, and Secretary of Labor Wilson are pacifists. I do not know for certain, but I believe Mr. Redfield, Secretary of Commerce, is also a pacifist. Just imagine the President and a cabinet of pacifists at last being driven by their conscience and their duty to take up arms and throw the whole strength of the man power and the wealth of the greatest republic in the world into the arena to make this common cause successful!

I suppose it is not necessary to argue the justification of the United States in entering this war. You will remember that Bernstorff, the German Ambassador to the United States, published an advertisement in the American papers warning the people of the United States against taking passage on the ill-fated *Lusitania*. You know that a few days after that warning a German submarine torpedoed that great ship and sent her to the bottom of the ocean with nearly 1500 men, women and children, not one of them a combatant.

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Patience! There never was in the history of the world, so far as my knowledge goes, any country which has exhibited more patience than the government of the United States. You know it is not the braggart, it is not the bully who is dependable. It is the man, like the nation, patient and forbearing, who avoids the contest or conflict, but who takes the advice of Shakespeare in one of his characters: "Beware of entrance to a quarrel; but being in, bear 't that the opposed may beware of thee." So we are in it.

Mention has been made of Russia. No greater tragedy has ever been enacted than has been and is being enacted in Russia at the present time, and it ought to be a warning to some of our friends in the United States and Canada. See what has happened to the great Russian people. I will go with any man or woman to obtain for labor and for the people the largest measure of return for labor performed and for freedom to be secured but I will not join with any one in so far overrunning our goal that we lose our venture.

There are new thoughts, new concepts, and new duties as well as new responsibilities to be met. Do not for a moment imagine that after this war we are going back to the old conditions. There is a responsibility on the part of the employer as well as on the part of the worker. There is a responsibility on the part of the government as well as on the part of the masses of the people. New relations must be established and new understandings reached. Men and women who labor can no longer be disregarded by the powers that be.

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There must come something out of this war that will compensate the people for the sacrifices that they are making.

I return to Russia because I want it to sink into your minds and your hearts that there is no limit to the extent to which I will give my support to secure the best sort of conditions of life and labor for the toiling masses of the world, but I will not permit myself to occupy the position of a fool rushing in where angels fear to tread. Under the pretense of securing everything that the human mind can conceive, the Maximalists, or Bolsheviks, of Russia are betraying the people of Russia into the hands of that monster of modern times, the militaristic and Imperialistic Government of Germany. Just think of it, the officers of the General Staff of the Germans being counselors and advisers of a pretended Government of Maximalists in Russia to secure a better life for the people of Russia! I have been to Germany and I have seen conditions there, and to pretend that there is any hope for the people of Russia while the German militarist machine remains, is preposterous, disgusting, a base fabrication and an intrigue to befool and befog the people of Russia.

Imagine the great Russian people on their hands and knees crawling like vipers, beseeching his Imperial Majesty for protection and the alleviation of their miserable conditions! I congratulate Britain, Canada, Australia and the United States upon this one fact: I congratulate them on the strength and power of the labor movement. If Russia had a well regulated labor movement founded upon evolutionary

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progress and natural growth, you would not find the Bolsheviks. And with all the intrigue of German diplomacy and German money, if it had not been for the great trades union movement in Great Britain, Canada, Australia and the United States, you would have found some of the German intrigue in all those countries as now represented by the Russian Maximalists.

This war is an indictment of the German Socialist philosophy. Where it has manifested itself at all it has broken down. It has broken down in Germany and it has proven treacherous to the people of the other countries. The Socialist party of America repudiated this war and condemned it just as if it had been made in America instead of in Germany. The German Socialists had neither the courage nor the understanding to take their stand in the beginning against the war. Had they then opposed it, their sacrifice of ten, twenty, thirty or fifty thousand lives would probably have prevented the dominant classes from entering an international conflict. The German Socialists failed there.

They have been treacherous elsewhere. Some have said, "Why not enter upon a conference for the purpose of ending this war and bring peace?" It is not everybody who understands this fact,—that to bring about peace now would instil in the minds of the whole world now and ever afterwards that the Germans were the conquerors in this war. Germany has achieved some of the things which she started out to accomplish. She has crushed Serbia and Roumania; she has ravished and overrun Belgium; she has overrun a large part of France; and don't you know that

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if Germany were to conquer both France and England including Canada, she would take hold of the British and French navies as a prize for her conquest? Imagine, then, Germany in possession of two powerful navies in addition to her own! What hope could we have for the safety of Canadians and Americans then?

There can be no peace; not now. They have gone too far. Before we can think of peace, much less espouse it, the Germans must go back from Serbia, they must go back from Roumania, back from France and back from Belgium, back to their own territory, and then we can talk of peace.

This meeting was called primarily as a gathering to impress upon the minds of those here and elsewhere the necessity for and the duty of winning this war by each of us doing either one or the other of two things or both, if possible. The men who can fight should give themselves voluntarily, if they can. Do not wait for the draft. Volunteer! I have five nephews and seven cousins in the American army. One nephew some months ago was shot and killed in Haiti in the service of the United States Government. My grandson, nineteen years of age, volunteered in the aviation service of the United States army. They will not let me fight; there are many men and women who would not be permitted to fight, but they can help with money. It is our duty to make it safe for our boys at the front.

At to-day's magnificent parade thousands and thousands of people stood on the sidewalks. I was elated when I looked upon the faces of women and children who were there. Some one by my side said, "Is it

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not sad to see them?" I said "No." There was no sadness in their faces. There was simply an acceptance of the situation as they found it and a determination to see this thing through, no matter what the cost. Those of you who cannot fight can at least help in the fight by buying Victory Bonds. You are not giving the Government one cent and your investment gives you the best security that any investment in Canada or elsewhere can give you. The whole wealth and all the assets of this rich Dominion safeguard your investment. In addition you will have saved \$50 or \$100 or \$500 which you would perhaps not have saved if you had not purchased Victory Bonds. If we should fail in this conflict, your fifty dollars or anything else you might have would not be worth a snap of your fingers. If we should fail, the lights of freedom would go out for the whole world. After all, what good would your fifty or one hundred dollars be if we lost? Coming over the border at Niagara Falls we learned that men soliciting money for Victory Bonds were near and to show where my heart is I subscribed for a \$50 bond. It was not much, but I wanted to show where my sympathies lie. If that fifty goes to help on Victory, it is yours with my compliments. And because of the fact that the Canadian labor movement and the American labor movement are one, we decided it was our duty to see to it that we show where our feelings lie, and so with pride and satisfaction we have invested \$10,000 in Victory Bonds. I have the pleasure of exhibiting to you now the documents and receipts of the transaction which was made to-day through Mr. H. H. Williams.

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I know there has been an effort made, a very narrow and restricted effort, to divide the American and Canadian labor movement. It would be the gravest error, the biggest mistake in the world, to undertake to bring about such a separation. A few weeks ago as a member of the Council of National Defense in the United States, we were holding a meeting for the purpose of considering the subject of industrial vocation and trade training. Among others a well known Canadian, Sir Charles Ross, appeared before our Board. He was the owner of a large plant for the manufacture of arms, as you know, and I believe the Canadian government has taken that factory over. He stated this to the Council: "I believe that it is to the best interests of Canadian workers and Canadian employers as well as those in the United States, that there should be maintained the best possible international relations between the labor movements of both the Dominion and the Republic."

He said further, "I am going upon a tour throughout the United States and Canada and wherever I go I intend to impress upon the minds of employers that it is the best thing for them as well as for the workers to have collective bargaining with union labor. My experience has demonstrated this one fact, that I never got such good service from my employees, I never felt more reliance in their conduct and in their work, than when I dealt with them as an entity in an organized capacity."

I came here after a year of hard work culminating in the convention of the American Federation of Labor which lasted two weeks with practically every mo-

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ment taken up with responsibilities, hard work and great problems. I was asked to come to Toronto and say a word and I accepted the invitation with satisfaction. I came to bring a message from the workers and the people of the United States to you, the people of Canada, all her people, with her wonderful past and her great future, and my message to all the people of the world is this: Men and women, let us be true to ourselves and true to one another. Let us do our whole duty to make it possible that the torch of freedom, which has been kept alight for all these centuries, may not be extinguished in an hour of shame, but be kept burning up and up, a flame illuminating the whole world, now and for evermore.

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The present war discloses the struggle between the institutions of democracy and those of autocracy. Democracy cannot be established by patches upon an autocratic system. The foundations of civilized intercourse between individuals must be organized upon principles of democracy and scientific principles of human welfare. Then a national structure can be perfected in harmony with humanitarian idealism, a structure that will stand the test of the necessities of peace or war.

Twenty-sixth Convention of the United Mine Workers of America, at Indianapolis, Ind., January 23rd, 1918.

THERE comes upon me a feeling which is inexpressible because I am standing before you this morning in this great convention of the United Mine Workers of America. When I see you here assembled—and I am informed more than sixteen hundred duly accredited delegates representing the coal miners of America are here, the men who in modern industry are of prime importance—my mind wanders back to the past when the men in the organized movement tried to bring about cohesive organized effort, and when I compare the conditions obtaining now with the conditions existing then, it is enough to make one's heart swell with pride if he has had but the slightest part in helping or has made some little contribution to the tremendous achievement, scarcely believable,

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of those who held the fondest hopes for the organization.

I shall not attempt to portray or even recite the wonderful transition and transformation of the miners from a position of docility, of poverty and misery into the full stature of manhood, conscious of your strength, wonderful in your achievements, and yet holding yourselves and your organization under such control that you have up to this time commanded the respect, the confidence and the admiration of every liberty-loving, humanity-loving American citizen.

It is a privilege to be permitted, much less to be invited, to address this great convention. I found it gratifying that I could take the time from my other duties to come to Indianapolis and to say a word to you which I trust may be timely and helpful; for in this great hour of the world's history it requires all the man power and all the brain power and all the wealth and all the sacrifices which may be necessary that not only liberty but that manhood shall prevail as the guiding thought of the world's progress.

It is a popular thought to discuss the question of war, and we are all of us compelled, whether we care or whether we do not, to concern ourselves with the fact that we are in war. We have had, perhaps, within the past few days, the first direct effect of our being in war; and if I have the time and the opportunity I shall address a few words to you expressive of my opinion upon that subject. But we have not otherwise realized the fact that we are at war. You men who know me know that I have been all of my sixty-seven years of life a pacifist until less than four years

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ago. I was willing to go to the fullest length that any man could think or devise to prevent an international war. I believed that the civilization of our time, I believed that the humanitarian spirit in the hearts and the minds of men, was sufficient to protect us against a struggle of this character.

When we knew that the great scientists of the world were burning the midnight oil for the purpose of discovering any agency or application that would ease the pain or cure the diseases or prevent the ills of our fellow human beings, it seems almost appalling to think that over night the war could have occurred. But it came. The marauder, the modern autocrat, willed it that the peace of the world should be disturbed, that humanity should be stopped in its onward march toward a higher civilization. Everything was to be dominated as his autocratic, imperialistic and militaristic mind developed. Never in the history of the world was there a man or a group of men who had so thoroughly planned for the militaristic domination of the world as was expressed by the dynasty and the group of the Imperial German Government when it made war, flagrantly, brutally and without the slightest consideration of the human side of the people of the world.

Yes, the invasion of Belgium, the ravishing of that little country, the crushing of Serbia and Roumania, the great juggernaut of this great militaristic machine, going on and on and on, was brought about by that autocratic and militaristic government. Whatever the outcome of this titanic struggle, the pages of history will record to the great honor of that little land,

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Belgium, the wonderful protector of the human race, that it was Belgium that halted the onward march of militarism and gave the world time to breathe and at least prepare itself to meet, to check and drive back the invader.

My thought comes back to the change that has come over the real pacifists of the world. I don't mean this lip service, I don't mean these anti-American demonstrations—I am speaking of those who were willing to sacrifice themselves that peace might be maintained. When the war dogs were let loose and it was shown that this tremendous preparation had been going on for over forty years, so far as I am concerned I am willing to declare here and now, quite freely and frankly, I threw my pacifism to the winds and there came the transformation from a pacifist to a fighting man.

When Belgium checked the army of Germany the troops of France and England combined just held and moved the German army backward. That was not on the schedule for the militaristic campaign of the Kaiser. He was checked and he knew, his military advisers and commanders knew and know now, that as soon as they were checked it meant the beginning of the end, for it is writ in the stars that the God of truth and righteousness and justice will prevail. And then came the change. The policy of German statesmanship was then to drag the United States into the war by any means; hence the sinking of neutral ships, of innocent merchantmen, and the killing of men, women and children, upon the high seas. Without attempting further to elucidate, this killing of inno-

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cent men, women and children was on and the word pledged to our government broken, just as ruthlessly as was that pact between the governments of the whole world that Belgium's neutrality should be maintained at all hazards. As that treaty was torn to shreds as a scrap of paper, the pledge given to the United States by the German government that this rapine and murder would not be repeated, was broken without the slightest compunction.

At last we were in the war, we were dragged into it; we could not keep out of it if we would. If we had not come to the assistance of the peoples representing the democracies of Europe I have not the slightest hesitancy in believing that it meant the choice of going over to fight or having them come over here to fight. Four years ago when I had the great privilege of being with you in your convention—to be exact, four years and three days—the only war of which any of us knew anything was the war in the convention. And I may be a bit scarred and wounded, but I am still in the ring. No one here or in the broad domain of our country imagined in January, 1914, that within a few months the whole world would be in conflagration and countries at each other's throats. Events have come and gone that were little dreamed of in our philosophy, and from that year up to the present time the world has been at war. We cannot be neutral; there is no such thing as neutrality in this war. You are for autocracy or democracy, there is no other choice for individuals or for nations. Spain, the Scandinavian countries and Switzerland are not neutral; they may have proclaimed

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their neutrality, but they are profiting or cowed by the war, and hence their sympathies and their co-operation are given to either one or the other side.

I do not want to assume the attitude of the great orator of the Continental Congress, but I cannot live when the whole world makes for unfreedom. I counted it an honor, as I felt it my duty, some years ago to challenge the decision and the action of the courts because they denied me the right of honest, free expression. I took the chance to defend the principles of freedom and suffered the indignity of having been sentenced twice to imprisonment for a year because I dared maintain the right of free speech and free press. When I could not endure the gross injustice of taking from me and my fellows the right of freedom of expression, you can rest assured I protested, and will protest again, any attempt to strangle the manhood and womanhood of the world to silence and failure or prevention of expression.

I realize the contrast between the conditions of peace and those of war. The government of the United States, with singular unanimity, the sole constituted authority of our republic, decided to declare that we are at war with Germany and later with Austria. There is no other way provided by which that action can be taken. That specific decision having been made that a state of war exists between America and her Allies against the imperial governments of Germany and Austria, everything that I can do to adjure my fellow workers and my fellow citizens to do to make the victory of democracy sure, I am going to advise, even if it be with my last breath.

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A month before war was declared a conference was held in the city of Washington in which the representatives of nearly all the national and international trade unions participated. In that conference a declaration was made and unanimously adopted.*

Since then our country has been at war. We desired to place ourselves in a position where we could establish the best possible relations with the government and the men and the women of our labor movement so that the greatest degree of coöperation and wholehearted support would be given on both sides. We have had agreements made between the governmental agencies and the representatives of our movement, so that in the struggle for freedom and democracy abroad we should not lose our freedom and democracy at home. You have it in your own organization, for your own honored former president, Brother John P. White, is in an influential, helpful position in one of the greatest governmental agencies in which the men of your industry are primarily affected. What is true in regard to him is equally true of nearly all industries of America. We propose not to surrender the standards of life and living during this struggle, except it be to save the Republic of the United States and not for private profit. We will make any sacrifice which may be necessary to make our triumphs sure, but we are not going to make any sacrifices that shall fill the coffers of the rich beyond the plethoric conditions in which they even now are.

If there was any evidence required to show the great

* On page 289 of the appendix will be found the declaration of March 12, 1917, read by Mr. Gompers.

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heart of the leader of the world's democracies, that evidence was given when the President of the United States visited the Buffalo convention of the American Federation of Labor and gave his great message to the hearts and the conscience of the workers, of the masses of the people of the whole world. That message thrilled every human being capable of any sensibility or feeling. It was wonderful! It was a pledge of the common concept for humanity. The world is changing. This war, upon which first I looked with horror beyond expression, I regard now as a rejuvenation of mankind and the establishment of a higher concept of justice for all time to come. It means that all great transformations in the interest of humanity must have a baptism of blood, and the blood that is now so freely flowing is the baptism, not of this war, but of its transformation from a war to a crusade in the interests of humanity.

In this present day condition in which we find criticisms and attacks being sown broadcast anywhere and everywhere it is timely for labor men to consider lest we, too, may be swamped by passionate appeals or by misleading purposes. It is a tremendous thing, it is an almost unbelievable task, to work out the military, the naval, the industrial, the commercial affairs of a country which were based upon democratic ideas and ideals, upon a peace footing, and to expect that this democracy should transform the whole field of human endeavor from a peace basis to a war footing without making some mistakes. We would sacrifice our lives rather than give up our democratic institutions; but bear in mind that democracy is likely to make mis-

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takes. These mistakes are the penalties we pay for the exercise of the principles of freedom and democracy. And that applies to our own organization as well as to our government. If we want to have democracy we should be willing to pay some of the penalties of democracy because of our mistakes.

I have no brief to speak for the administration of the government of the United States or of any of its representatives, but this I do know, and am willing to voluntarily attest to it, that they are prompted by the great purpose, first, that America shall win in this war, and second to do justice to our people during the struggle. They are men of great mental power and activity. To think that this great transition could take place without some mistakes being made is to expect the impossible.

I am not going to find any excuse for mistakes. I have in advance said that they are part of our very lives and system. As a matter of fact, who could have made a greater mistake than the one-man power, the Kaiser of Germany, in starting this thing he will never be able to finish? With all his plans and all his aids, he made that mistake. They were on the road to great industrial and scientific and commercial success in Germany; they had an enviable position in the world's affairs, but they wanted to establish their military, imperialistic, autocratic influence and government over the whole world. I have not spoken German in this last couple of years. I acquired the language when I was working in the factory, and I am going to use a term that has been used by the Germans—"Deutschland ueber alles"—Germany over all. That

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is not an expression of the day before yesterday, or three or five or ten years ago; it is a motto coined over forty years ago—"Germany over all." My friends, place one military dictator, if you please, at the head of the affairs of our government and he will make as many if not more mistakes than have been made by the administrators of our affairs, though they be civilians. And how would the workers fare in the struggle in the meantime?

Even the order issued a few days ago I regard as an absolute necessity. You know there is now a discussion to repeal or modify the Sherman Anti-Trust law. I am not going to offer any excuse for the railroads, they have been lax so long, but the Sherman Anti-Trust law forbade them to do what now the director-general of the railroads has the right to do. The jam had occurred and was increasing and something had to be done to relieve the situation. If the ice king has interfered there can be no help for that. I think there is one mistake in the making, and I trust it will be changed or modified. I refer to the closing of the industrial and commercial plants of our country one additional day each week. I think it is a mistake to have a whole day such as Monday idle, involving from Saturday afternoon until Tuesday morning. I believe if the order were changed so that instead of there being ten, nine or eight hours as a day's work, the same power should be exercised and a universal seven-hour day proclaimed during the war period, we would have practically the same results in the conservation of fuel and all other needful commodities; there would be the same conservation and it would not

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do violence to the history, the traditions, the work and the practical operation of industry and commerce. I trust that the suggestion may find lodgment somewhere and bring about that change; but if it does not, I am going to obey like a soldier of America, I am going to yield my judgment to the judgment and the actions of the men in whose hands the destinies of our Republic are placed. Because the suggestion or advice I may offer may not be accepted, does not entitle me during the war to balk or refuse to coöperate with my fellow citizens and with my government.

I think I ought to make reference to something which is arresting our attention and the attention of the whole world. I refer to the present situation as it exists in Russia. We have all done our share to be helpful to the Russian people. We were all enthused when the revolutionists overthrew the Czar of that country, established a revolutionary government and fought on and on until there came upon the scene these people who call themselves the Bolsheviks. The exact meaning of that term is not known to every one. It is simply the Russian word for what we would call Maximalists, those who want the maximum of anything and everything and will not compromise or yield to anything, will not accept anything but the uttermost, the maximum. What is the maximum? All that you have dreamed, all that I have dreamed, all that any one has dreamed and hoped for, that must be accomplished and put into operation at once or else we refuse to live and be with our neighbors of different judgment; we refuse to accept the natural law of growth and development; we refuse to permit in-

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dustry to be carried on to its fullest extent, so that as in the movements of labor in England and the United States, there may be obtained something better, to make life and work better to-day than yesterday, better to-morrow than to-day and better each succeeding day, so that every day, to-morrow and to-morrow, and to-morrow's to-morrow shall each be a better day than the day which is past.

They refuse to permit such a growth, such a development, but want it all; and, like the dog in the fable who, having a bone and seeing the shadow in the water and the shadow being larger than the bone itself, dropped the bone and jumped for the shadow and lost both. To expect that the world shall establish the highest ideals of ownership, of property, of work, of life by edict and without the transition from stage to stage is like expecting an infant just crawling and beginning to walk to enter into a marathon race as a contender for victory. The result of that activity of the Bolsheviki is this, that because of their supposed radicalism they have lost all. As a nation which does not function, an army that will not fight, a people that for the time being cannot act together through this Bolsheviki, the people of Russia are crawling upon their bellies and asking for mercy at the hand of the modern assassin, the Kaiser of Germany.

Through the Bolsheviki the whole field of operations is in greater danger. The Czar of Russia in his palmiest days could do no worse than the Bolsheviki have done. The Czar turned his soldiers upon the members of the Duma of Russia, and the Bolsheviki have

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sent their armed soldiers and sailors to disperse the Constituent Assembly, the representatives elected by the people of Russia; in other words, my friends, the attempt at constitutional government in Russia, where the people could assert themselves, has been at the point of the gun and the bayonet driven out of the hall of legislation. The Bolsheviks who dropped their guns when facing the Kaiser's troops turned them upon their own representative government.

My friends, the reason of that movement, the terrific situation, the terrible situation in which the people of Russia and the government of Russia are placed is a reminder to us, too, not only in our own country, but in our labor movement because we know that we have the Bolsheviks right in the United States! These men, if they had their way, would drive the United States government and the people into the same wretched, miserable, poltroon position. If they had their way the trades unions of our country would not be in existence. You know as well as I do that there was one organization of labor in the United States—I prefer not to mention its name—which was a Maximalist organization—they would have nothing but the most and would not consent to anything less. And now it hasn't the power to make even a decent showing, much less a good fight. If the extremists in the labor movement of America had their way the United Mine Workers of America might be known as a name but not as a fact; it would not have one of its representative men sitting in council with the governmental agencies in order to determine the conditions of industry and the life and the work of the toilers.

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You have not secured all to which you are entitled, certainly not! My desire and demand upon society are for more and more and more, and never stopping in that constant driving movement for more; but I do know something of the limitations of our power, of our people, of our own selfishness and altruism, of our generosity and our weakness, and I say to you, my friends, let the voice of the men with experience, the men charged with the responsibility of carrying out the interests and the will and the welfare of the miners of America be heard—do not fail to heed their suggestions and advice. I am not discussing, nor have I in mind, any question of a controversial character in your convention; I am speaking of a general policy which experience has demonstrated. The time was not always when the miners were a great power. Every inch of effort and success was at the expense of great sacrifice, of tremendous expenditure. Don't throw that all to the winds.

What is it that Shakespeare put into the mouth of Friar Lawrence in his advice to Romeo when he rushes off? "Wisely and slow; they stumble that run fast." Men of the United Mine Workers of America, make such changes as may be essential to your continual progress, but for the sake of yourselves, for the sake of the men who are going into the mining industry hereafter, for the sake of their wives and children and yours, for the honor of the memory of the men who have done so much to help build up this wonderful monument of honor and of strength, do not throw their experience to the winds.

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We do not know what is coming. This war is making changes every day; this war is brightening up the minds of men. Men think quicker, act quicker, conceive better, execute greater than at any time in the history of our country—and, I believe I am justified in saying, in the history of the world. New concepts are coming; the blood in men's veins is tingling; human brotherhood, in spite of sacrifices, is being held as the great ideal; the relations between man and man are changed; wealth, possessions are no longer regarded as of great importance. The thing that is important is human effort, coöperation, service to the government, service to the people, service to make life the better worth living; and this war, transformed into a crusade, when it is all over will have brought a brighter and a better day for all. The sacrifice is great, but who looks with regret upon the sacrifices made by our forefathers in establishing the Republic of the United States and achieving for the first time in the history of the world a declaration that there are certain inalienable rights and that among them is the right of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness? That was said for America and its echo went throughout the world.

The war now, this crusade, is for the establishment of that principle throughout the world—the people of Germany included. Who regrets the sacrifices that were made to abolish human slavery? Who is not proud of the fights that were made that liberty should obtain? Who regrets that the United States entered into a war with Spain to wrest the Island of Cuba from the tyrannical rule of the Spanish monarchy? And

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so with this fight, so with this struggle, the future will regard any man in any walk of life who did something to make for the freedom, for the justice, for the democracy of the world in our time as a benefactor. The world will rise up and call him blessed for the part he has performed and the service he has rendered.

Now is the time that tries men's souls; now is the time to give service; now is the time when we should see to it that we try to uphold the great labor movement of our country. It is in accord with and is heartily pledged to the cause of this democratic Republic of ours, the Republic of the United States; it is committed almost unanimously to the great cause for which the world is now bleeding and which it will win. We shall not lose, we cannot lose. The whole history of the world, the songs of the poets, the dreams of the philosophers, the work of the toilers, the service of mankind, the scars and the battles and the sufferings of the past are all thrown in spirit in the balance, and the men and women of America, the men and women of fighting England, the men and women of gallant France, the men and women of outraged Belgium, the men and women of devastated Serbia and Roumania—the spirit of it all goes forth in one grand acclaim, victory and triumph for labor and democracy, the establishment of the universal brotherhood of man. That is the cry; that is the slogan; that is the shibboleth which will win for the world in the most glorious battle and triumph for human justice.

AMERICA IS AN IDEAL

America is not merely a name. It is not merely a land. It is not merely a country, nor is it merely a continent. America is a symbol; it is an ideal, the hopes of the world can be expressed in the ideal—America.

*Gathering at Lexington Avenue Theatre, New York City.
Washington's birthday—February 22nd, 1918.*

I BELIEVE that in our country we have the greatest opportunities existing in any country upon the face of the globe. America is not perfect; the Republic of the United States is not perfect; it has the imperfections of the human; and inasmuch as we are not perfect, we have not been able to make a perfect, democratic Republic; but it is the best country on the face of the earth.

America is not merely a name. It is not merely a land. It is not merely a country, nor is it merely a continent. America is a symbol; it is an ideal; the hopes of the world can be expressed in the ideal—America. The man in America, with the opportunities afforded, with the right of expression, with the right of determination, with the right of creating a political revolution by well-ordered methods, who will not or does not appreciate that it is his duty to stand by such a country in such stress and in such a storm, who is unwilling to stand up and be counted as a man in this

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fight for the maintenance of these ideals—is unworthy of the privilege of living in this country.

I have no quarrel with the man or the group of men who differ with me, or the course which I pursue, in anything. I doubt that there is any one who welcomes expressions of dissent or disapproval more than I do. I am willing to battle with him mentally, argumentatively, in any honorable way that is provided among self-respecting men and women. Constructive criticism is of the greatest benefit to those who are criticized. It is the nagger, the mean, contemptible, nagging one that has no purpose other than negative and destructive that is unworthy the consideration of decent men and women.

Who declared war in Germany? Was it even that mugwumpery called the Reichstag? No; not even that. But who declared war in Germany? Was it the people of Germany? No. It was the Kaiser and his immediate military clique. That autocratic clique by one accord determined that the time for which they had been planning had arrived, and then was the time to strike the blow. Now, you have no need to enter into a full discussion of all the matters which may be of vital interest, and no doubt you know them just as well, if not better, than I do, but here is the point: In the United States of America it was not a Kaiser, a King, or even the President of the United States who declared war; it was the Congress of the United States, the men and women elected by the people of the United States. There must be lodged somewhere in Government the power to declare that its life is endangered and that, therefore, it has the right

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to strike a blow in the defense of its country. In our Republic that authority is vested in the Congress of the United States—the Congress elected by the people of the United States, the Congress elected, in many States, by the votes of the men and the women of those States. . . .

In truth, the state of war existed from January, 1916, when the attacks were made upon our industrial plants and our transportation lines, the murdering of our men and women and our children in cold blood. If that did not constitute a state of war I would like to know what did. The point that I want to make clear is this: That it was not an autocrat, it was not the President, but that it was the representatives of the people, elected by the people to the Congress of the United States, the only authority recognized by the Constitution of our country, who realized the situation as it was and declared that a state of war existed between our Republic and the Imperial German Government. That body authorized the President to use all the available means and all the forces of the country to carry into effect and purpose the resolution of the Congress of the United States, and to make good this declaration that the democracy of the United States is not impotent or incompetent to defend itself.

Until the only authority in the country had decided the question whether we should recognize that war existed or not, until that declaration was made it was the privilege, as it was the right of every man to express his own view whether we should recognize this fact and go to war or not. But when the constituted authority in our Republic declared war, that

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was a decision of the people of this country, and from that decision there is and can be no appeal. To follow the thought that it is now permissible to discuss whether we should continue in the war or to retreat from it reminds me of the situation as it now exists in Russia. If the so-called radicals of America would have had their way, you would find in our United States the same condition as now exists in Russia.

I am rather fond of life. I have had 68 years of it, and I am not tired of it at all. I want to live. I do not know of anything better than living. But I do not want to live when I can not maintain my own self-respect. Indeed, I feel that I could not live in the atmosphere of unfreedom. There have been at least two occasions in my life when I was threatened with imprisonment; on two different occasions, and each for a year, because I undertook to express my judgment, and we were then at peace, not at war. But I undertook to express my opinion as an American citizen against a decree issued by one of our courts in a private controversy between two interests. I merely mention it, as I was willing to take a chance, whatever that may mean, for the maintenance of the principles of freedom of expression and freedom of the press.

So, just imagine—it does not take much to see the point at issue—if the German militarist system could win—it can not, but if it could win, how would that victory be accomplished, or what would its immediate result be? I know that we have been living in the thought that we are so far removed from the whole world that we are perfectly safe. But if it were pos-

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sible for the German militarist machine to be so efficient that it could conquer France and England, the first result of that conquest would be, without question, the taking over from France and England their combined navies. Without taking over these navies, as the result of German conquest, she could not be the complete winner; and imagine, with the military forces, the navies of England and France, and her vessels of commerce and transports, what would become of the vaunted safety of the home and fireside of the American people?

Referring to a remark made by Harry Lauder, and of which I was so glad to hear our honored Secretary speak, he said, in speaking to a lot of our boys in the camp: "Don't you for a moment imagine that you are going to send your troops over to save France or to save England. When you send your troops over you will be saving yourselves. Either you must fight over there or you will fight over here."

To me this war has quite a different meaning than almost any other war in history of which I have read. It began through the machinations of the German Kaiser and in the splendid responses made by France and England and Belgium. In Prussia they were all exulting, but when the Republic of the United States entered into this world struggle it ceased to be a war and became at once a crusade for freedom and justice and liberty. I hold it to be the duty of every man to give every ounce of energy in fighting, in producing, in helping in any way that he can, that this crusade shall be a triumph for the world. If we may not be able to abolish war for all time, at least let us make

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the conditions such that a war of this character may never again occur, or at least shall be long deferred.

For years and years the workers of America, realizing the position in which we are placed in this most favored country of ours, pressed home upon the agencies of government, the agencies of industry, the agencies of all activities, that inasmuch as the workers performed so large a service for society and civilization the human side of the workers should receive the highest consideration, and that no agency of government or of industry should be constituted without a representative of the workers as part of that agency.

I never have asked anything for myself. I have no favor to ask. I have no personal pleas to make. I speak for a cause. I speak for the masses of the workers as well as the masses of all our people. For, no matter, the meanest of all of them, I consider it my duty and privilege to say a word for him, even when perhaps he might repudiate me. But, as the result of this war or crusade, this principle for which Labor has been contending has found recognition in the departments of Government.

My friends, do you know how thoroughly in sympathy with the high and noble thought and work and associations of the labor movement are the members of the President's Cabinet and the President of the United States himself? That has come and it is coming to a larger extent with every development of our time. Does any one think that when peace shall have come again to our beloved country and to the peoples of the world the representatives of these various agencies will be in conflict? Surely not. The princi-

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ple is recognized. Hence this means while we are fighting for democracy and against autocracy, in France and soon in Belgium and then into Germany, then in the meantime we are fighting to maintain democracy at home.

Let me say to you that, talking of international conferences with representatives of the enemy countries, we are not going to permit ourselves to be lulled into a fancied security and, under the guise of radicalism, go back a hundred years. Why, the Kaiser's minions would not give a passport to any one unless he would carry out the policy of the autocracy of Germany.

Then, to meet in council with these men, gaining from us our confidence, swerving us from the path of duty, trying to influence us that the Governments of these democracies are, after all, only capitalistic, I have said, and I say it in the name of the American labor movement—the convention of which in November declared it unalterably, the executive council of which, in session at Washington last week, affirmed it in most emphatic terms, and the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy reaffirmed it by the resolutions presented here this evening—we all say in essence: You can't talk peace with us now; you can't talk international conferences with us now. Either you smash your autocracy, or, by the gods, we will smash it for you! Before you talk peace terms, before you bring about international conferences, get out of France. Get back from Belgium, back to Germany, and then we will talk peace.

One of the great causes of this war was the obsession of this German military caste that democracies

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are impotent and inefficient; that France was a sort of democracy, with an army that was in a way inefficient because of the long-standing contention of Alsace-Lorraine. Germany knew that if she went to war she would have a rather hard fight with France, but surely would conquer her. She had an extreme contempt for the democracy of Great Britain and for any army Great Britain could raise. To the German mind, as it has been tutored for this last half a century, there is nothing efficient in government unless it is directed by an autocratic head. The same contempt the Germans had for America. They believed us to be such devotees and lovers of the almighty dollar that we could never stand for an ideal and make sacrifices for its achievement. That is the great mistake which autocracies have ever made—they do not know. They have never known that once touch the heart, the conscience, and the spirit of the democratic peoples, they will make more sacrifices than any subjects under compulsion. So we find ourselves in this war, in this crusade.

A month before the war was declared, with some degree of prescience, the executive council of the American Federation of Labor called a conference of the representative officials of the American labor movement, and there a great discussion ensued, and there a declaration was finally adopted.*

That declaration was adopted by a unanimous vote a month before the declaration of war. The convention of the American Federation of Labor in No-

* On page 289 of the appendix will be found the declaration of March 12, 1917, read by Mr. Gompers.

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vember, 1917, unanimously approved that declaration. It was to that convention that the President of the United States, that great leader and spokesman of the democracies of the world, came and delivered a message to Labor, and through that body to the great masses of the people of America, and through them to the liberty loving men and women of the whole world.

There is not anything that will contribute so much to winning this war as unity of spirit as well as unity of action among the people of our country to make, if necessary, the supreme sacrifice that freedom shall live. I know that it may mean much loss and many heartaches, but we know that there were sacrifices and heartaches among the men and the women of our revolutionary times.

Who is there in America to-day who looks back with regret on the sacrifices made when the Declaration of Independence was coined for the world and a new nation created? Who regrets that any one belonging to them, no matter how near or how remote, sacrificed his life and his all that America should be born? Our Civil War, when the struggle was for the maintenance of the Union and the abolition of human slavery, who among the gallant men on both sides, or either side, now regrets that the fight was made and the sacrifices borne in order to make good that this Nation is one and indivisible and that on its shores and under its flag slavery is forever abolished? Who doubts that? Our war with Spain, small though it was, meant sacrifices. It meant Cuba free and independent. Is there a man or woman in this audience

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or in this country who regrets the sacrifice that was made that Cuba might be made free?

So the men and the women of the future will regard this struggle as we now look upon those struggles to which I have just referred. They will call us blessed, every man and every woman, who has given something to this great cause of human justice and freedom, to feel the satisfaction, the exultation, the exaltation of youth and energy renewed in them in a great cause, the greatest that has ever been presented to the peoples of any country and in any time. It is a privilege to live in this time and to help in this common fight.

With all my heart and spirit I appeal to my fellow citizens, to my fellow workers, to make this one great slogan, the watchword from now on until triumph shall perch upon our arms: "Unity, solidarity, energy, and the will to fight and to win."

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The human side must be considered in every question in which our people and our country are affected.

*At the Convention of the National Lecturers' Association,
Washington, D. C., April 11th, 1918.*

I THINK that epitomizes the whole subject, and whatever frills or furbelows may be woven to surround it are not going to make the matter at all clearer. The question as it appeals to me suggests the thought that there is in the minds of some—the suspicion that Labor is not functioning in the war, and therefore it is necessary that some one should say something as to whether it does or not.

With us there have been no false notions from the beginning of the European war. Those who were abreast of the times and had something like an understanding of events national and international, those who had undertaken to learn, either at first hand or otherwise, the philosophy, if I may so dignify it, underlying the German mind and the German activity, knew then that the aim of German thought was to dominate the world.

Now, no one could find fault with the effort of the German people in endeavoring to control by intellectual force, by the power of brain, science and understanding in all the arts, in industry, in commerce; and it

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was to the great credit of the people of at least our own country, that we were appreciative of the great intellectual development of the people of Germany. But somehow or other, there were a few of us among the men of Labor, who understood that Germans and Germany were not only exercising this great power and influence over all the world, but that there was being created by them a philosophy of economics and sociology that undertook to blunt the minds of the people of the whole world.

Whether designedly or not no one can now say, but truth requires it to be stated that the philosophy of the Marxian Socialism was nothing more or less than the attempt of German autocratic power from above to control the individuality of the people. It was and is in economics and sociology the reflex of the imperial form of government of Germany, presumably based upon the people, not, however, with the initiative of the people controlling the government, but with the government controlling the people.

For years and years a propaganda was carried on in every country on the face of the globe. Among the last to be impregnated with that virus were England and the United States. There was not an avenue through which the expression of the labor movement of America could percolate into the minds of the German people or the people of the other continental countries.

The Socialist parties of Germany did not create the Socialist parties of these other European countries and of the United States; the German Socialists' propaganda established German branches in these other

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countries and in the United States! They published their newspapers, particularly in the German language; when they attempted to establish an English paper, for years and years they never succeeded, and one or two of those papers now existing subsist upon the subsidies and support of the German Socialist press.

The labor movement of America was interpreted and written about to the European countries, particularly through Germany, by the agents of the German Socialists. The efforts made by the American labor movement to secure improvement in the condition of the workers were belittled and perverted in the reports to the Socialist press, and so communicated to the readers of the Socialist press in Germany and other European countries. Our movement was decried, our achievements belittled, our aims ridiculed, and our men abused, insulted and misrepresented. Indeed, so far did this propaganda go that, consciously or unconsciously, the great trusts in the United States were playing into the hands of that game! First, the shipping companies and the trusts were combined to keep a channel wide open between several of the southern European countries and the ports of the United States. The condition of those people thus brought here, lured here, was but little better, if as good, as it had been in their own countries. They had less freedom here, for they were under the dominating eye of the superintendent, foreman, sub-foreman, or some sub-stratum officer! They had industrial serfdom here, when they had perhaps just a little bit of a farm with the free air and the sunshine in their own countries; they were

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paid miserably and treated worse; they had to pay tribute in advance to some petty foreman in order to get a job, and it was to the foreman's financial advantage to see that the turn-over was greater than necessary in order that he might get his tribute.

But quite in addition to this, newspapers, daily or weekly, were encouraged to be issued and printed in the language or the languages of the respective countries of a large number of the employees; and then in those newspapers, subsidized by the shipping companies and by the trusts, could be preached all the radicalism, so called, that they pleased. They could advocate socialism, anarchism, or any other speculative philosophy so long as they roundly lambasted the American labor movement and its officers. For these corporations knew that so long as they could arouse bitterness and antagonism and prejudice against the representatives of the American labor movement, so long as they could call into question our motives and our honesty, they had the men under their own power. They would encourage these newspapers to preach the gospel of the "sweet by-and-by" if they could only prevent the workers from realizing that they were living in the bitter "now-and-now"; and hence the great difficulty which we experienced in trying to reach the minds and to obtain the confidence of these workers, the confidence and the respect to which we were justly entitled.

And this Socialist press in German and other foreign languages was the means to propagate this philosophy of misery, to propagate the dream of internationalism, based upon the idea that German power, German mili-

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tarism, would be maintained for the purpose of preventing international war, while, at the same time that same Socialist press was preaching to the peoples of the other countries of the world the doctrine that they need not fear Germany or German military power. "What you and your countries should do is to preach the gospel of internationalism, anti-militarism and anti-patriotism; we will see that the peace of the world shall be maintained," declared German Socialists and Socialist philosophers and the people of the countries of the world outside of Germany believed in them. That propaganda had gone on for more than forty years. We believed it; we were all of us lulled into a fancied security. Then they undertook to preach the gospel of the immediate recognition of the universality of the brotherhood of man, and so our peoples and our countries were comparatively easy prey, at least supposedly so, in the minds of German efficiency and German militarism and German imperialism. We were unprepared; we did not dare to dream that such a conflagration as this would set the world afire; but it has come.

There is one thing upon which Germany did not count. She believed that, after all, there is only one efficient method for the conduct of any of the affairs of life, and that that method is autocracy,—power from the top to direct, and all others obediently to perform. There is one thing that this philosophy holds out of the accounting,—that once the conscience and the hearts of a free democratic people are touched, there arises a unity of spirit and action, which autocratic domination and efficiency cannot withstand,

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and before which it must quail. And that is what has come.

It is the common understanding of all who know, that it is the American Federation of Labor that for more than thirty-five years has given its whole-hearted effort to support the principles of freedom and democracy as against socialism, slavery and despotism. It is the American Federation of Labor which, from the beginning of this international war, had the perception, as well as the courage, to declare its position in unmistakable terms, and now, in the crisis into which we have flung ourselves, or rather, more truly speaking, into which we have been dragged, the American labor movement is true to its history. It is true to the traditions of Labor, true to the long struggle of the masses, groping in the beginning, groping, struggling and sacrificing in order that some of the burdens placed upon the backs of the toilers shall be relieved, until in our time the whole conception of the laborer has changed. The worker is no longer regarded, nor would he permit himself to be regarded, as typified by the "Man with the Hoe"; he stands, not with bent back or receding forehead,—no, not with bent back and receding forehead, but in the full stature of manhood, equal with all people of our country.

Quite apart from our loyalty to our Republic and the great cause in which it is engaged, this very difference of concept is to be fought out. It must be settled whether the workers shall be driven back into the centuries of darkness and misery and almost despair, with back bent under the lash and perhaps the receding forehead returning with generations, or whether the

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toilers of the world shall be, in addition to producers, men, with living hopes, living aspirations for a higher and a better day.

We have from the beginning of the war performed our duty whole-heartedly, without causing any reflections or making any insinuations against those in other walks of life. I think if these had had less care for private profiteering and more care for our country and our people and our cause, there would be less inconsistency. Only a few weeks ago, or rather about two months ago, there were about twenty-five hundred men who had struck work. It was regrettable. The difficulty was quickly adjusted, and the officers of the organization exerted all the influence and power that they could, in order that the men would return to work. The men did resume work, but the press of the country lambasted the workers of America as though they had all been slackers and cowards and traitors, when, as a matter of fact, there were then more than five millions of American workers engaged in war work, and there was not a word of commendation as to their service.

Through the instrumentality of our movement, the American Federation of Labor, we have pressed home upon the government of the United States, as we have in the affairs of industry and commerce and transportation, this concept,—that there is not anything in all the activities of our country, local, state, national, or international, into which the human element does not enter, that the human side must be considered in every question in which our people and our country are affected, and that hence it is necessary to have rep-

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resentation of the workers in every agency of government and of industry. We have had larger representation and recognition of this character within this past year,—beginning four years ago, but within the last year—than at any time in the history of our country, or perhaps of the whole world. The Council of National Defense, the Advisory Commission, the War Industries Board, the Shipping Board, the Wage Adjustment Board, in all of them, are representatives of labor to help determine the conditions and the terms, wages, and hours of labor.

The Committee on Labor of the Council of National Defense, with its various sub-committees, has concerned itself with the question of labor standards—hours of labor and wages, sanitary conditions and housing. It was our committee which first brought last year to the attention of the Council of National Defense, and of the country, the terrific condition in which we were all placed by reason of the fact that the workers had no place where they could rest, where they could sleep, where they could go after their hard day's work was completed, and that if they did not have a place to sleep, they would be unfit and unwilling to work, in fact, would not and could not work.

The agreements entered into between the representatives of the Government of the United States, in its various departments, and the organizations of the workers, have been made public generally. There was a committee of five representing the employers, appointed by the employers' associations; a committee of five of workmen appointed by the president of the American Federation of Labor. Each of these two

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groups selected a representative of the general public as their legal adviser. The employers' group selected Mr. William H. Taft, and the workers' group selected Mr. Frank P. Walsh. An agreement has been reached between these two bodies based on the fundamental principles of employment and the relationship between employer and employee. A permanent board of arbitration has been appointed by the President of the United States. That great leader of thought, and speech, and democracy has issued a proclamation putting the agreement into effect as a war measure to endure during the period of the war.

I have learned since my entrance into this hall that an effort is being made by means of a bill now before Congress to make it unlawful, and stigmatizing it as criminal, punishable with high fines and long terms of imprisonment, for any workman to engage in a strike. May I say this—I think that I have indicated clearly, and can show more fully and conclusively, that the aim and effort of American workers are to continue work without interruption except as rest and recuperation may be necessary. But I say this to all whom it may concern—that nothing will do more to create resentment than to make it unlawful for men to stop work. Thus far we have done wonderfully well. Thus far there has been no serious interruption of industry or commerce or transportation. Thus far the good influences of the representative men and women in the labor movement of our country have been effective, but once take away the voluntary influence which we may be able to exert, and say that we have no power, no influence of a voluntary character, and you have'

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taken away every instrument which we have been enabled to employ in order to gain the good will and the voluntary, continued service of the workers of America.

Let me add this: No one has done more than the representatives of the American labor movement to prevent the propaganda of Germanism from succeeding in interrupting the industries of our country. In some instances the men have been urged, where a cessation of work would have been justifiable under ordinary circumstances, to be patient and again be patient, even to straining a point, in order that production may not be interrupted. I say this, as I have on previous occasions declared, that it is possible that you may make a stoppage of work, a strike, unlawful, but you are not going to stop men from striking; you will make men law-breakers in addition to strikers! Why is it necessary for the enactment of such a law? If all the voluntary agencies had proven a failure; if there were no prospect of even greater continued production by reason of the last agreement which has been reached and to which I have just referred, why then there might be even some excuse. But to-day there is absolutely none, and I give the warning of a patriotic American citizen to our Congress not to commit the folly of enacting such a law!

I want to say something now wholly out of the order of reasoning and of sequence, but I cannot help bringing this to your attention. We have seen what has transpired in Russia within these past few months. No lover of liberty, no lover of mankind, can look upon that scene, even in the far distance, in his imag-

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ination or in his reading, without a feeling of great regret and compassion. Whether the people of Russia come back in this war or not, one thing is assured; out of a spirit of humanitarianism, we must help the people as best we can. And we will try to do it. If there had been in Russia a labor movement such as we have in the United States of America, that Bolshevik movement would never have landed into power; if we had not a labor movement in America, with all the elements making up America and all the propaganda that has been going on, I have not the slightest hesitancy in saying that my best judgment is that we would have had the Bolshevik right in the United States. I do not know that we are quite so free from them now.

There is another point that I want to make. As one of the evidences of this tremendous progress that has been made by the American labor movement, I desire to call your attention to the years of agitation and the educational campaigns conducted in what was popularly known as "the abolition of government by injunction." Neither you nor I have time to enter into a discussion of this subject. Those who are sufficiently interested to have the detailed information can get whatever the American Federation of Labor can help to give. But as the result of this agitation and these campaigns of education and the sacrifice of men who were willing to suffer for the right, we have had enacted upon the statute books of the United States a law, commonly known as the Clayton Anti-Trust Law. A sentence in that law reads as follows: "That the labor of a human being is not a commodity or

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article of commerce." That declaration in itself is the most far reaching of any ever made by any authoritative government of any country of the whole world.

The labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce! If that declaration had been in existence prior to our Civil War, slavery would have been abolished without that war, for the slave's labor was the labor of a human being and was regarded as a commodity and an article of commerce. That declaration, now the law of our land, takes the human being, the men, the women, the children, out of the class which characterizes them and their labor power as commodities, inanimate, such as this glass, this table, the chandelier, or a side of beef, or a pound of pork. It constitutes a recognition of the human side of the masses of our people, the workers, before the law,—the physical, legal, industrial, political and social qualities of all the citizens of America.

We are giving service to our country; we propose to give service. We shall not permit ourselves during this war, or at any time thereafter, to be lulled into any false paradise. The propaganda of offensiveness, the propaganda of subtlety, the propaganda to divert us from our humane, natural, patriotic and logical course, the effort to divert us from this course will fail, no matter by whom undertaken. We are going to stand by the fundamental principles of our Republic. We are glad to declare that we are behind the government, the country, our Republic, our President, and our Allies, to fight this fight to the finish, until democracy and freedom and justice shall be enthroned throughout the world.

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In the countries of the world which have cast their lot on the side of democracy and opportunity, many struggles and many sacrifices have been made, but there is not a man or a woman in any of the democratic countries that now regrets the sacrifices that have been made in the past that freedom may survive.

In the Canadian House of Commons, Ottawa, April 26th, 1918.

WITH my associates and me that enterprise in which we are now all engaged, and which we have been accustomed to call war, is no longer fully expressed by the term war, but takes on a larger view, a larger cause, a greater meaning; it is the most wonderful crusade ever entered upon by men in the whole history of the world. No nobler cause, no holier undertaking, has ever commanded the intelligent and the self-sacrificing natures of men. You men of Canada, there was no compulsion that impelled you into this war; there was no compulsion for our Australian brothers to enter into the war; there was no need for the men of South Africa to enter into the war; there was no compulsion that drove India into the war. The Mother Country of democracy, her life and her honor, were at stake. Her plighted faith had been given, Belgium outraged and overrun, France invaded; England responded, and her colonies and dominions, her

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men and her women, who had learned what was meant by English Democracy and English idealism, responded with an alacrity and a purpose and a meaning that sent a thrill to the hearts and consciences of liberty-loving men the world over.

We had no quarrel with the people of Germany. We even had no quarrel with the autocratic Imperialistic Government of Germany. So long as that system suited or apparently suited the ideas and the purposes of the German people, they might have gone on and on and on, suffering as they might be, tyrannized over as they were, denied opportunity for self-expression, wonderfully successful in their arts, in their sciences and in their trade. No one wished them ill so long as they confined themselves to their own tasks of self-development. But when, unsatisfied with the marts of the world and with the acceptance of the standards set in the sciences of Germany, they let the dogs of war loose to dominate in the every-day affairs of the human family the world over—my tribute to Belgium in her agony; my tribute to France in her gallantry; my tribute to Great Britain, and to you men of Canada for the magnificent response which all have made, declaring to the German militarist machine: Thus far shalt thou go and no farther; back from France, back from Belgium—and then we will talk peace terms with you.

It is needless for me to refer to the causes which finally brought the people and the Government of the United States into the struggle. You are, perhaps, better informed than I am upon that phase of it. But the conscience and sympathies of the people of the

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United States were with the cause of the allied countries, for on one side, the side of Germany, stood a dominating force, a militarist machine perfected in the science of murder; the denial of rights and opportunities; and on the other side—our side, yours and mine—was the spirit of freedom, the spirit of democracy, a sense of justice to all mankind; a willingness to afford opportunity to the peoples of all countries to work out their own destinies as best they could. Theirs the side of reaction, power, the domination of might; ours the side of opportunity for the free development of the human. There was no other choice; there could have been no other choice. Perhaps this incident of recent occurrence has not attracted world-wide attention, but I desire just to mention it as indicative of the whole scheme which underlies Germany's prosecution of this war. In the Prussian Diet recently the Chancellor declared against a proposal which had been presented in that body for universal manhood suffrage in Prussia. The most significant statement made by him in opposition to that proposal was that if universal manhood suffrage were to come to Prussia, it would be worse than losing the war. Is this not typical of all that preceded the war, and of the manner in which the war has been conducted by our enemies?

It is not understood among the people of Germany that there is any possible efficiency in any activity of life unless it is founded upon might and power, from above, leading down. It is the contempt which they hold for men in democratic countries. They believed that the people of democracies were wholly inefficient, incapable of coöperating man power or of willingness

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to be diverted from the ordinary avenues of industry, business, trade and the discussion of democratic policies in order to become a potent force in defending the rights of the people in common. It is that contempt, that lack of understanding of the fact that, when once the consciences and the hearts of the peoples of democratic countries are aroused, they become a potent fighting force that brooks no opposition to its triumphant conclusion that was Germany's undoing.

The Central Powers of Europe, Germany and Austria have as their ally "Civilized" Turkey. It is said among English-speaking countries: "Tell me your company, and I will tell you who you are." To say that the Allies of Germany and Austria are Turkey and Bulgaria is a sufficient answer to the inquiry in regard to keeping company. On our side we have whom? We have France, Belgium, Italy, all the Dominions of Great Britain, and the Republic of the United States of America. It does not require much enthusiasm or much understanding to know upon which side liberty loving men are willing to throw their lot. It has come to pass in the world's history that we are no longer great distances from each other, for we now speak in terms less of miles than of hours and minutes and seconds, and when our countries are so closely united in terms of information by telegraph, by wireless, when we are in such close touch physically by fast-going trains and by fast-driven steamships, when we have the flying machines that have dominated the air, when we have our newspapers and magazines, when we meet in each other's territory so frequently, when

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we are in such close communication in business, in all the affairs of life there is a law of contact by which we acquire some of the characteristics of the peoples with whom we come in touch.

The time was well chosen by the German Imperialist machine to inaugurate this battle when we were the least prepared for it, but, in my judgment, it had to come at some time or other. As Lincoln in his time said that the United States could no longer be half free and half slave, so the time, thank God, has come that sets up for determination now that this world can no longer remain half democratic and half autocratic.

We are in this struggle. Our men have been hard pressed. It is not the easiest thing in the world to transform a democratic people from a peace footing to a war footing, but it has been done. The sacrifices are large. If there be more sacrifices necessary to be made, pray that those sacrifices may be as few as possible. But though the sacrifices may be large and exacting, they must be made that liberty, opportunity, justice and democracy may survive for humanity.

In the countries of the world which have cast their lot on the side of democracy and opportunity, many struggles and many sacrifices have been made, but there is not a man nor a woman in any of the democratic countries who now regrets the sacrifices that have been made in the past that freedom may survive. And though our men and our women are burdened and made sad by the sacrifices that have been made, it must be a great satisfaction, a great honor and a great privilege to them, to know that their husbands, brothers and sons have made the fight that liberty shall

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live. Those who will write the history of the time, like us in our day who pay tribute to those who have gone before and who have kept the light burning that the ideals of freedom and justice shall survive, will record the wonderful sacrifices made in our day and pay tribute to us, saying: "Well done, good and faithful servants."

Somehow, I have an abiding faith that the cause of right and of justice cannot die. I would rather die fighting for the right than not to fight at all. If we should fail—and I repeat, we cannot fail, we must not fail, we will not fail—it is better to fail fighting than it is to submit to the yoke. The willingness to submit to the tyrant's yoke simply means the stifling and stamping out of the spirit of liberty. The willingness to fight and to sacrifice for liberty keeps the spark alive in the hearts of some men, and in time it will rekindle and spread into a flame, a consuming flame, so that every man will rise up and fight again for liberty.

In this hour of the world's travail, with its suffering and its struggle, there must be unity of spirit among the peoples of all our Allied nations. I believe, indeed, that the time will come when the great English-speaking peoples of the world, allied with the other powers of the world, are going to spread this doctrine even until it reaches the innermost recesses of Germany. In this world struggle there must be not only unity of spirit, coöperation and ideality among the peoples of the Allied countries, but there must be unity of spirit and activity among the peoples in all walks of life in each of the Allied countries. There

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must be a willingness to do and to dare, a willingness to sacrifice that the common cause may live and survive. Perhaps if I give you a part of the declaration made by the representatives of the workers of America—the United States and Canada—it may be refreshing and interesting though it is more than a year since the declaration was made. A conference was held on March 12, 1917, in the city of Washington, about a month before the United States entered the war. I had previously submitted to my associates in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor the suggestion that they should authorize me to call a conference and they readily acquiesced. After a thorough discussion of the entire question the representatives of the American Labor Movement—I repeat, of the United States and Canada—adopted a declaration.*

Gentlemen, from the time of that declaration until the present moment there has not been a difference of opinion between the policy of the Government of the United States and of the organized bodies of the working people. I knew before I came to Ottawa, as I know now and am convinced, that the people of Canada did not need to be heartened or encouraged in this war. They are determined as are the people of the United States to fight this battle to a finish and not to conclude it by any peace negotiations founded upon the map of Europe as it is to-day. My primary purpose in coming here was to receive inspiration from my visit, as I have already received it, and to

* Mr. Gompers here read from declaration of March 12, 1917, printed on page 289 of the appendix.

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give a word by way of suggestion, if needs be, that unity of action and of spirit on the part of the Government and of the workers and of the business men of Canada should prevail in order that we may win this war. There is no course of generosity or consideration which can be shown but that the workers will understand and appreciate and give if necessary more heartily of their coöperation, their energies and their service. After all out of this struggle the old conditions will never enter our lives again. We must dismiss from our minds the thought that after the war is over we shall return to pre-war conditions and jog along somehow. Through this war there are going to be new concepts of duty, responsibility and service. Service? There was a question propounded thousands of years ago which this crusade will answer: "Am I my brother's keeper?" The events and the sacrifice and the developments of this great struggle will answer that question in the affirmative. Either we will have to help to bear our brother's burden, or he will be crushed under the load. It is a question of new concepts of human right, human welfare, and social justice. With the sacrifices that our men are making, with the new ideas and ideals that are quickening in our minds, with the faster pulsations of our hearts and our beings, there is coming a new, a better and a nobler time. We are waiting for that time and for those ideals, that human brotherhood, that higher conception of duty devolving upon us, to all and from all, the world over. Sacrifice counts as nothing against all that is at stake as the outcome of this universal conflagration. There can

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be but one ending to it all. The human will become supreme. Right, justice, consideration, opportunity for development, and for the attainment of the highest of which the human mind can conceive, will prevail and bring peace and contentment to the whole human race.

We are fighting and sacrificing that peace may come to the world. No peoples have ever had a greater opportunity to win for themselves for all future generations the encomiums of praise and service than have the people of our own time. God grant that the day is near at hand when the forces not only of arms but the forces of the spirit dominating the minds of the peoples of all democratic countries shall prevail and our boys come home to us with the triumph of glory.

THE DOUBLE DUTY OF AMERICANS

There are but two things that count now—to win the war for freedom, and, during the struggle to win the war, to maintain the standards of American life at home.

At the Railway Station with the train held fifteen minutes under special orders at Milwaukee, Wis., June 6th, 1918.

Men and women of Milwaukee,—better and bigger and broader and higher—men and women of America, upon you and upon the citizenship of this Republic depends the future of the civilized world. Now is not the time for argument or quibbling. We are now, indeed, in the fight. If there were any doubt before, the demonstration of danger right in the heart of America and upon our own ground, for the waters adjacent to our country are as much the ground and possession of the liberty loving people of the United States as is the terra firma upon which we stand, would dispel it.

Must it come home to Milwaukee? Must it come home to Wisconsin? Must it come home to the interior part of our country? Must it come into our very hearts and souls and bodies before we are aroused to the danger which the democracies of the world are confronting?

I have no hate in my soul; but to me the time has come when every man who loves liberty, every woman

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who loves freedom, every man and woman the world over who understands what is hanging in the balance, must come to the realization, no matter what opinions may have been held heretofore, must now come to the realization, that there is nothing too ruthless, nothing too brutal, nothing too atrocious in the effort to dominate the world with imperialism and militarism.

There are but two things that count now: one, to win the war for freedom, and second, during the struggle to win the war, to maintain the standards of American life at home.

While we are fighting for freedom and democracy abroad, while our fighting boys in the trenches and on the ships are hazarding their all and possibly making the supreme sacrifice, you and you, and you and I and every mother's son and daughter of America, should stand true to the great cause of freedom, justice, democracy and humanity in every country on the face of the globe!

I have said that I have no hate in my soul and I trust that hate will never penetrate my being. I have nothing but sympathy for the men of labor of Germany and of Austria—sympathy for their lack of understanding and lack of courage to make their understanding vital in this contest; but until the people of Germany, until the men of labor of Germany, demonstrate their purpose to work and to do battle and make sacrifices, if necessary, for the undoing of Kaiserdom in Germany in order to establish democracy, we can have no dealings with them ex-

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cept to crush for them what they had not the courage to crush for themselves.

The world,—all Germany and Kaiserdom with all that it means—has its eyes riveted on America and particularly upon Wisconsin. Wisconsin must give a better account of herself than she has. I might say things that would sound pleasant to tickle your fancy and through you the fancy of the multitudes of Wisconsin's citizenship. I prefer to express the thoughts that are in my mind and that well up to my throat from my heart, to give expression to the duty devolving upon you and all of us as men and women in this Republic. The time is coming when the man who fails to support the Republic of the United States, and her Allies, is standing in the way of democracy, no matter how high-sounding may be his platitudes or pleadings. This is the great psychological hour in which democracy is hanging in the balance. Understanding to what great lengths this spirit and feeling of democracy may go, no one, whatever his partisanship may be, can foretell the outcome. It may mean the establishing of the great principles of democracy the world over. But whether it be the great aim and goal of universal democracy, or whether it is simply to batter back the hordes of those who would crush democracy, the tendency is in the direction of democracy and every man must do his utmost; every man loving liberty not only feels for himself and his fellows to-day, but for the children who are yet to come, the generations yet unborn, who will hold you and me to a strict accountability for the services we have ren-

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dered or failed to render in this great world struggle.

Now I have an abiding faith that the spirit of liberty cannot be crushed. I have an abiding faith that human progress and civilization will endure and that progress and that civilization will be founded upon human brotherhood. Still, though believing and hoping and striving for international brotherhood, there must be nationality in spirit and in action, and as national units we shall bring about the great dream of the poets, the ideal of the philosophers and the historians,—world brotherhood; but in the making of that time, in the making of that hope, in the effort to realize that aspiration, men must do and dare, and he who fails in that supreme duty is unworthy to enjoy the freedom and the spirit of freedom of our Republic and of our democracy.

I have not the time to address you at great length, the train is in the station and with others I am on my way to St. Paul to attend the convention of the American Federation of Labor and there to give expression of the duty and the loyalty of the workers of the United States.

I have no hesitancy in believing, and declaring the belief, that that convention will stand true, true to the labor movement of America, and to the fundamental principles of the labor movement of the civilized democratic world; it will be true to the Republic of the United States, true to the cause in which she is engaged, true to the cause of our Allies, and, under the leadership of the Greatest Democrat, the interpreter of the thought and the spirit of justice and freedom the world over, we will stand behind

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our government and behind Woodrow Wilson, the President of the United States.

Permit me to express to you my great appreciation of the honor you have done me to assemble here, even if it were only to look into each other's faces, to bid each other God speed, heartening each other in the great work before us. Men and women of Milwaukee, I convey to you the fraternal good will of all the workers of other states and an expression of our profound hope that Milwaukee, Wisconsin, will come into her own; that you will present a solid phalanx of united manhood and womanhood with the workers and the citizenship of the whole Republic of the United States and forever and ever kill the hope that was bred in the diseased mind of an autocracy, that it can, or ever will be, permitted to dominate the peoples of the world.

NO PEACE BY NEGOTIATION

Germany failed to understand that once the hearts of the people of a democracy are aroused and touched, they become invincible.

At a meeting to welcome an American Federation of Labor Mission on its return from Great Britain and France. St. Paul, Minn., June 12th, 1918.

YOU come here primarily to hear the message of the men and women who were appointed as a Mission representing the masses of labor of America, to the workers and the people generally of Great Britain and of France. They have a wonderful message to convey to you, and through you to the citizenship of Minnesota and every city and state of this great Union of ours. No doubt their message will reach the center of every civilized country on the face of the globe, and it is, and must be, their wish and hope, as it is mine, and I feel it to be yours, that their message will reach the minds and hearts and consciences of the people of Germany and Austria.

It may not be amiss to relate, however, briefly, how it came about that these representatives of Labor, the men and women composing that Mission, were sent to the other side. We are certain, at least to a considerable degree, that a systematic propaganda has been conducted by the German government in Ger-

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many, and an underground, and often unknown, propaganda in the countries outside of Germany, to divide the masses of the people of all countries outside of Germany into hostile camps, to instill into the minds of the people of Belgium, France, England, Scotland, Ireland, Italy, Russia, America, the idea that internationalism was the most important of all principles to guide the people of the world; and while that propaganda for internationalism was conducted with wonderful subtlety and ability in Germany, the principle enunciated and practiced was nationality first, and internationality second. The whole program and policy were to divide the peoples of the various countries outside of Germany, and particularly the labor movements of those countries, into hostile camps. I know of a large number of agents of German propaganda, and of many others who are not the direct agents of German plan and propaganda, but who are nevertheless, unconsciously, playing the game of Germany. That propaganda has gone on, that poison has been injected into many minds, resulting in the strange conduct of quite a number of people, workers in France and in Great Britain, and if my imagination is not stretched too far, I think that men so infected can be traced right in these United States.

We hold that this, the Republic of the United States, the people of our Republic, have entered into this world struggle willing to offer up and to sacrifice all things except honor and freedom in order that justice and democracy shall have the opportunity to live among the free peoples of the earth;

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we hold that we have the right to determine at least our own policy and to carry out our own program for working towards the best possible results and bringing this terrific struggle to an end at the earliest possible date, with victory and glory upon the banner of our fighting boys and the fighting boys of Britain, France, Belgium and Italy.

We are a peace-loving people. The American labor movement is a peace-loving movement. Only after the ruthless murder of our innocent men, women and children were we moved to declare that we were no longer pacifists; that to remain pacifists in the face of the scientific murder policy, plan and program of the German government was to write ourselves down as poltroons and cowards. If ever there was evidence that peace by negotiation with the present government of Germany is impossible, it is found in the example of Russia, defeated, crushed, humiliated, through a treaty of peace with the government of Germany, accepting provisions that it was scarcely believable any people or representatives speaking in the name of people, would or could accept. At this moment I want to say, that the people of the democracies of the world shall be wiped out before they accept such a treaty of peace.

And yet, after entering solemnly into a treaty with the semblance of government in Russia, scarcely was the ink with which the signatures to that treaty of peace were made dry, when to the fullest extent of her power, Germany sent into Russia her armed forces, invading that country as if it were still an enemy country, as if no treaty of peace had been signed.

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To speak of a negotiated peace with the German government is to write into the history of the world for the future the principle that militarism is the only means by which the people can protect themselves. To accept a treaty of peace now would be to write for all time that Germany and kaiserism had been the conquerors in this war.

The autocratic, military machine of Germany is perhaps the most efficient murder organization ever brought together in the history of the world. The democracies of the world, including our own Republic, were unprepared from a military viewpoint to hurl back such a great military organization. But Germany forgot or failed to take into account this one fact, that though we were unorganized for military policies and campaigns, and were going about our business in our ordinary way, working out our problems as best we could, once the hearts of the people of a democracy are aroused and touched, they become invincible in the power to smite the most powerful military organization.

A propaganda to divide the forces of Labor in our country has been going on here as it has gone on in Europe. We have heard much about the toilers in Europe wanting to arrange conferences with representatives of the German labor and Socialist movements; we have heard much about their wanting to inveigle or invite workers of our country into such conferences. We know that there is not anything which that movement in Germany can do unless it has the approval of the German Imperial Government.

We were disinclined, and emphatically declared our

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determination not to sit in conference or to participate in any conference of which the representatives of Germany in any way should be a part, either until they have overthrown their autocracy and established a democracy at home or until the fighting forces of the allied countries and ourselves shall have driven the invading forces out of Serbia, out of Roumania, out of Russia, out of Belgium, out of France and out of Italy.

There seems to be amongst the men of the labor movement in our allied countries the thought that this expression of our judgment is a violation of a principle. They imagine that if they send a delegation of men to the United States to confer with us, we should be easily persuaded to the other view and converted so that we too should take part in an international conference to which the representatives of the labor movement in Germany would come as participants.

In order that Labor of Great Britain and France might have a clearer understanding of the soundness of our position, we sent over a delegation of labor men, seven men and two women, that they might confer with all of the representatives of every variety and shade of opinion of labor in Great Britain and France; and while these men and women were to undertake that mission to clear the atmosphere and bring about an understanding of the fact that we were unalterably committed to that policy, come what may, in addition, the mission was asked to get to the citizenship of the countries where they might have the opportunity of going and to talk to the men at the

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front and in the trenches, the fighting boys of all of our allied countries. They were to convey to them a word of heartening and encouragement, our pledge to them and to our Allies of all our man-power and all our wealth, with every possession of the people of the United States, that kaiserism shall be crushed and that freedom and justice shall obtain throughout the whole world.

In an official way, the mission reported in a document presented to the convention of the American Federation of Labor now being held in St. Paul. In an unofficial manner, and yet quite as interestingly, they will briefly portray the activities of each one of the mission, and of the group. If ever a group of men and women have performed a service satisfactorily and gratifyingly, I say here and now, conscious of the importance of the utterance, that in my wide experience I have found none to surpass and few to compare with this work.

Personally, as well as officially, I feel a sense of obligation to these men and women for the magnificence of their work and the great advantage which they have given to the right thinking men and women of America, and to our fellows across the sea.

It is but proper that I should at this time read to you a telegram sent by the President of the United States to this meeting.

"The American Alliance for Labor and Democracy have my heartiest hope for a successful meeting that will give added strength to future activities called into being to combat ignorance and misunderstanding skillfully played upon by disloyal influences. Your organization has done a great and necessary work. It has aided materially in pro-

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moting the unity that proceeds from a just understanding and is to-day a valid and important part of the great machinery to coördinate the energies of America in the prosecution of a just and righteous war. The war can be lost in America as well as on the fields of France, and ill-considered or unjustifiable interruptions of the essential labor of the country may make it impossible to win it. No controversy between capital and labor should be suffered to interrupt it until every instrumentality set up by the Government for its amicable settlement has been employed and its intermediation heeded to the utmost, and the Government has set up instrumentalities wholly fair and adequate. This duty to avoid such interruptions of industry wherever they can be avoided without the actual sacrifice of essential rights, rests upon the employer as imperatively as upon the workman. No man can afford to do injustice at any time, but at this time, justice is of the essence of national defense, and contests for any sort of advantage that at other times would be justified, may now jeopardize the very life of the nation."

(Signed) WOODROW WILSON.

FREEDOM IS NOT A GIFT

The privilege of freedom is not handed down to man on a silver platter. Freedom is the exercise of the normal activities, the thoughts and the honest hopes of a democratic people. Freedom cannot be enjoyed unless it is understood and exercised.

Flag Day Exercises at Rice Park, under the auspices of the St. Paul Lodge No. 59, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, St. Paul, Minn. June 14th, 1918.

Men and women, is it necessary at this time and in this world struggle when not only freedom, but civilization itself, is hanging in the balance, to talk patriotism, to talk of love of country, to talk of love of home or wife or children or friends? It is to the lasting disgrace of any man or woman in this country who will not proclaim himself or herself devoted unreservedly to the cause of America, of Americanism, democracy, the cause for which our country entered into this world struggle, to help to make it possible that the people of the United States shall have full freedom and opportunity to live their own lives since God has instilled into their hearts the hope of living as a free people, unafraid of domination from without or failure to appreciate their duties at home.

The privilege of freedom is not handed down to man on a silver platter. Freedom means more than a term, a word. Freedom is the exercise of the nor-

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mal activities, the thoughts and the honest hopes of a democratic people. Freedom cannot be enjoyed unless it is understood and exercised. There is no question about it, that even among the peoples of Germany prior to this world war, they sang of freedom. They had their folk lore, they had their songs dedicated to freedom. But it was a freedom that they themselves did not understand or exercise. It was of the dim, dim future, perhaps the freedom of the "sweet by-and-by," when we propose to exercise and live for that freedom now, in our time.

Freedom springs from the heart outright. Freedom is the concept of living our own life and not to have some one dominate us in our every relation and in our every activity. Freedom is a term so broad and deep that it has not yet percolated to the benighted minds of the poor, oppressed, deluded, boastfully intelligent, but actually ignorant, people of the Central Powers.

It was my good fortune to have twice in my life opportunities to visit Germany. You who know me now perhaps a little better than you knew me in the past (for I want to tell you as a matter of fact I have not changed one jot; you have changed your conception of me, that is all), know that the things, the ideals, the thoughts, which I now proclaim are the same that I have held from my young boyhood. It is this critical time through which the world of freedom is passing that has broadened the minds of all of us. We understand now that we are engaged in one common cause,—the defense of the right, the defense of justice, the defense of the ideal of the com-

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mon brotherhood of the people of the United States.

If there be any one institution in America which typifies and exemplifies and justifies the whole course and cause to which the American labor movement is committed, it is the teachings of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks. To be helpful to our fellows; to do right; to bring about the common uplift of the people and to have impressed upon our minds and hearts the exalted principle of loyalty to our country and the symbol of its character and life,—
• The Red, White and Blue, the Stars and Stripes of Old Glory, is the purpose of the Elks.

So I find myself in most excellent company with the boys who hail each other as Brother Elks, the men who will give the warning in the hope of preventing wrong and of doing right, who will extend the helping hand who will do that which one man should do unto another and spread the gospel of nationalism in America, the doctrine of taking into our hearts, which are large enough and broad enough in human sympathy and affection, the whole human race, the manhood and womanhood of the world who are willing to accept the doctrines of democracy, of freedom and of brotherhood.

It is not possible for the people of our country and the people of the democratic countries fighting in this contest, to lose the war against Germany. We must win! We dare not lose! It were better to die fighting than to accept the heel and the yoke of kaiserism upon the people. If we fight, and while fighting if it could be possible to lose, at least the spirit of freedom would be handed down to our people. The spark of

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freedom would be lighted in the hearts and the minds of generations yet unborn and some day, somehow, that spark would grow to a torch and a flame which would burn people into desire and willingness to sacrifice, to fight again to establish freedom.

If we fail now,—if we accept the yoke, as some pacifists, or more properly speaking, pro-Germans, would have us do, then there is no hope for liberty, either to-day or for the future.

If we fail, the Lights of Freedom go out over the whole world. But we cannot fail! We must not fail! We must be true to the men who in the long ago gave up their all that this Republic, this new nation might be founded. We cannot be untrue, we dare not be untrue to them, the men who gave to us a new republic with a new meaning for the rights of man, together with the opportunity to work out our own destinies. So I say to you, my friends, let us take heart and courage, hope and determination, that nothing shall stand between us and our Allies on the one hand and the crushing of kaiserism in all the world on the other.

It may not be amiss to say that within ten minutes of the close of the morning session of the convention of the American Federation of Labor, every man and woman, delegates, officers, visitors, arose and stood in reverential enthusiasm for the Red, White and Blue, the American Flag.

There is no one who, in verse at least, or perhaps in any other way, has expressed that for which the American Flag stands better than the man whose two stanzas of poetry I propose to read to you in closing.

AMERICAN LABOR AND THE WAR

YOUR FLAG AND MY FLAG

By WILBUR D. NESBIT

Your flag and my flag,
And how it flies to-day,
In your land and my land,
And half a world away!
Rose-red and blood-red,
The stripes forever gleam;
Snow-white and soul-white—
The good forefather's dream.

Sky-blue and true-blue, with stars to gleam aright—
The gloried guidon of the day, a shelter through the night.

Your flag and my flag,
And, oh, how much it holds—
Your land and my land—
Secure within its folds!
Your heart and my heart
Beat quicker at the sight;
Sun-kissed and wind-tossed
Red and blue and white.

The one flag—the great flag—the flag for me and you,—
Glorified all else beside—the red and white and blue.

LABOR AND THE ALLIED CAUSE

The cause of labor is so closely entwined with the cause of all the allied countries and our own that we could not separate ourselves from it even if we would, and we would not if we could.

Mass Meeting at Madison Square Garden, New York, conducted by the Committee on Allied Tribute to France, July 14th, 1918.

IT is but fitting that the toilers of our country should join with you and the representatives of the other allied countries to pay a tribute of affection and recognition and obligation to the men of *La Belle France*. We, if I may speak in the name of the wage earners of America, are loyal to the United States and her Allies, not blindly, but for a cause. The cause of Labor throughout the centuries has been a struggle against tyranny and oppression. It is therefore fitting that the men and the women of toil in our country should be, heart and soul, with the United States in this fight.

What hope is there for freedom, if it were possible for Kaiserism to win? What hope for emancipation of the toiling masses, if Germany could win? What opportunity for free assemblage, free press or free speech, if Germany could win? What right of free association among the toilers, for their expression, if Germany could win in this contest?

AMERICAN LABOR AND THE WAR

The cause of Labor is so closely entwined with the cause of the allied countries and our own, that we could not separate ourselves from it even if we would, and we would not if we could.

When in the scheme of things which generated in the mind of the Imperial German Hierarchy—the autocracy to dominate the world—the gauntlet was thrown down, the challenge was given to every man and woman the world over who believed in freedom. Yes, wonderful, gallant France, the gentleman among the nations of the world, with heroism and sacrifice, halted the Hun on the onward march upon Paris, to give the other allied countries an opportunity for a breathing spell, an opportunity to gather themselves together. It seems that the guilty conscience of wrongdoing always omits one particular, essential feature. It does not count upon the human equation. The military machine of Germany had been in the course of preparation for half a century. The world was unprepared to meet such a military onslaught.

Democratic countries were regarded as inefficient, incapable of defense, incapable of concerted and concentrated effort. But, this thought was lost sight of,—that once the democracy of the world is aroused, once the conscience and the spirit of the people are touched, neither Kaiserism nor militarism can withstand the uprising of the people. It was a war which Germany thrust upon us. It is no longer a war. With the allied democracies of the world now fighting for the great concepts of freedom and justice and liberty and peace, it is a CRUSADE FOR MANKIND. I may at least in part speak for the men of Labor, the

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great mass of our people who, after all, are physically the largest sufferers of all the groups of our people. I want, even with the responsibility which the words carry and the thought conveys, to ally myself with the great President of the United States in his declaration, on the Fourth of July, that there can be no compromise between autocracy and democracy. The quarrel is not of our seeking, it was thrust upon us, but it has come, and now is the time from which we cannot escape, autocracy must come to an end now, the end must not be postponed to some other time.

There is no man in all the world to whom I could take second position before the outbreak of this titanic struggle as an advocate of international peace, but when a marauder comes on your street, or a gang of them, you cannot proclaim yourself a pacifist; you must defend your home and yourself, if you have any spirit or any red blood coursing in your veins. And from an ultra-pacifist I have become transformed into somewhat of a fighting man, yearning and hoping for peace, for a just peace, for a peace that shall bring hope and light into the lives of peoples all the world over. Not only are we fighting for our own freedom, for our own existence, for our own concepts of justice, but we are fighting for the freedom of the heart and the conscience of the true German people. If through mal-education, if through stunting the brain or misdirecting it, the people of Germany have permitted their course to be diverted, all the greater pity that we must fight them, but come what may out of this war, out of this crusade, there will be new con-

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cepts of the relationship between man and man and country and country.

The old concepts will be thrown into the scrap-heap. There will be new concepts of the dignity and of the rights of man, of real democracy, of real freedom; there will be real opportunities for the cultivation of the best that is in us, real opportunities to make of ourselves and of the peoples of all the countries of the world free peoples to work out their own destinies, to establish governments existing by the will and the consent of the governed, thus working out the universal brotherhood of man, the dream of the poets and the song of the philosophers of all time.

MILITARISM MUST BE DESTROYED

We found ourselves in the position as to whether the labor movement, the spirit of the labor movement, could live if it were possible for kaiserism and militarism to dominate.

Official luncheon and reception tendered by the British Government to the American Federation of Labor Mission, Hotel Carlton, London, August 30, 1918.

IT is not often that I find it difficult to express the thoughts and emotions which arise in my mind caused in this instance not only by the representative men here assembled, but also by the kind references made to my associates and to myself.

Perhaps I had better start by telling an anecdote which occurred in the early history of the United States and find its application to myself. It was before the days of efficient railroads in our country and a southern Senator was about to face a new campaign for reelection. Traveling from one part of the state to another, he met quite a number of people whom he knew and others whom he did not know. While riding in a buggy driven by his negro driver, two men came from the sidewalk in the opposite direction and one of the men said quite audibly to the other: "Do you see that distinguished man riding in that buggy? He is a wonderful man, he is a truly great man." And the negro driver nudged the Senator and said to him:

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"Say, boss, I wonder who he means, you or me?" In this labor movement of America we may say, as did Admiral Schley after a great naval battle in the Spanish-American war: "There is glory enough in it for us all." And he who contributes even but a slight effort to obtain the common object is deserving of as much praise as the man who has larger opportunities.

A few days before I left Washington to proceed to an Atlantic port to embark on this trip, I had the honor of an interview with our great President, Woodrow Wilson. In addition to introducing to him the labor man who was to act as President of the American Federation of Labor during my absence, I wanted to bid him au revoir and to ask whether he had something that he would like me to say to the people of Great Britain, France and Italy. Many of you men, all of you, know of him, but it is given to very few to know the man. Your great Ambassador, Lord Reading, knows the man. I am profoundly grateful to have had the privilege, in part at least, of knowing him. The President's answer to me was something like this:

During the civil war, President Lincoln desired that a message might be conveyed to Jefferson Davis. Mr. Lincoln had learned that possibly the proposition which might reach Mr. Davis would end the struggle between the north and the south. You know that at that time, men who led great movements and great countries were gentlemen. Mr. Lincoln asked a Washington newspaper man to convey the message. Then the representative of the press asked Mr. Lin-

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coln if he had any other special message to convey, and Mr. Lincoln, in his wonderful way, said:

"I had better tell you a story. There was a little girl about seven years of age. It was her birthday, and she had been given a set of wooden blocks with letters on them. The child had played with them all day and in the evening she was so tired. Just before retiring to her bed, she went down reverently on her knees and folded her chubby hands, but she was simply too tired to give expression to her evening prayer. She took the blocks of wood and letters and threw them on the floor, and said: 'O Lord, you know what I want to say. Let me say the best thing you want me to say. Good-night, Amen.' " And the story of the President stopped abruptly there.

And so I have really no message from the President except that I know his spirit, a man of passions, a man of strong convictions, deep of feeling and of high idealism. But, if I may take the privilege of conveying the message of the blocks of wood impatiently thrown down upon the floor that evening, I have the right to say that the President and the people of the United States are with Great Britain and France and Italy and all the allies in this struggle to the end.

Speaking as one who in part represents the great masses of the people of America, I will say that we are whole-heartedly in this struggle. Perhaps I can do no better now than to read from a declaration made by the responsible officers of the organized labor movement of America, a declaration made on the 12th of March, 1917, nearly a month before President Wilson appeared before the Congress of the United States

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and presented the indictment of crimes and brutality against the Imperial German government. Somehow, many believe that that declaration made by the organized labor movement of America had much influence in conveying to the President of the United States and to our Congress the realization that the toilers of our country would stand behind them and our government faithfully and whole-heartedly in the determination of our course.*

That declaration was indorsed by unanimous vote of the convention of the American Federation of Labor held last November. That is the spirit of our country.

We found ourselves in the position as to whether the labor movement, the spirit of the labor movement, could live if it were possible for Kaiserism and militarism to dominate.

The labor movement represents perhaps the almost inarticulate yearnings of the people—many, many of those who have perhaps not the intelligence or the understanding or the courage to express their own hopes and ideals. Wherever in the whole world tyranny and injustice prevail within any country, it is the masses of the people who are compelled to bear the burden. The labor movement is the expression of discontent of the masses with all forms of wrong and injustice. I shall not undertake to say that we, of ourselves, express that in the wisest manner; we do the best we know how.

I have learned to know man, to know something of

* See appendix, page 289, for declaration of March 12, 1917, from which Mr. Gompers read.

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his weakness and something of his strength, and it is my purpose to endeavor to express the best collective thought of the masses of labor. I am quite willing that the so-called "intellectuals" may enjoy themselves in their self-assumed mental superiority. We organize the best we can to work out our own destinies as best we can and as best we know. The chain is no stronger than its weakest link; no army can move faster than its slowest companion in arms, and he who undertakes to drive or lead a movement faster than the great mass of workers understand and appreciate, will find himself high and dry. We apply ourselves to our everyday problems, not to bring about a cataclysm or a social revolution every year. There are some who are anxious to and who declare they will inaugurate a system for the attainment of all rights and the abolition of all wrongs at nine o'clock to-morrow morning without fail, provided it does not rain. Our work is to make to-day a better day than yesterday and to-morrow a better day than to-day, and to-morrow's to-morrow each a better day than the one which has gone before, to work out the disenthralment of the great wage working masses of our country upon an evolutionary rather than a revolutionary basis.

We have earned in the democracies of the world the right to express that thought and the right to work out this plan of evolutionary progress. In the United States of America we have made, through economic and political action, wonderful strides and progress. I hope that the time may come when in Great Britain, France and Italy and in conquered Germany there shall come the recognition in their laws of the funda-

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mental laws enacted by the government of the United States, with the freedom not only of the seas but the freedom of the seamen. And in passing, I do not think that I ought to fail to say a word of the great appreciation felt in America for the splendid services performed by the Seamen's Union of Great Britain in this cause. In the United States, there is the Clayton Anti-Trust Law and the first sentence of section six of that law reads like this: "That the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce." I will repeat: "The labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce." It is a refutation of the old concept that the master had some proprietary right in the life and the labor of a human being. The labor of a human being is part of the human himself. It cannot be differentiated from him without taking the laborer himself. But the purpose of my referring to it is that in the labor movement of the United States so much is at stake. We had been marching from the old time slavery of more than fifty years ago until the workers of America were indeed sovereign citizens equal with all other people in different walks of life. To have permitted the menace of autocracy to overcome the democracy of Great Britain and of France and to have dominated America would have meant the beginning of the end of it all.

We saw the situation; our hearts bled at the outrages committed by the murderous government of Germany. About twelve millions of the population of the United States are German, either by birth or extraction. In addition, we had the German reservists who were in the United States and the organized

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German propaganda. There was a tremendous problem presented to our people and our government. Though we saw and knew what we knew, and suspected what we suspected, our country was not in a position to take up the just cause which otherwise it might have been enabled to do. But when similar outrages and similar murders were committed against our own people and when our own men, women and children, engaged in honest business and traveling either for business or pleasure, were murdered in cold blood, the people of the United States and their governmental representatives were wrought up to a pitch of white heat and demanded that war be declared.

Under the constitution of the United States, the power to declare that a state of war existed between our government and the Imperial German Government was vested in Congress. The men of labor in the United States are proud in believing that the attitude of the labor movement, as set forth in the declaration of March 12, 1917, prior to our country's entering the war, in support of our government in peace or in war, greatly helped to clarify the situation.

Now, here we are; we are in this war, or, may I say that it has ceased to be a war, and is now a crusade? Our men of labor of America are engaged in this war; our fighting boys have been coming over here. During the Civil War there was a song composed, and generally sung in the North, addressed to Lincoln, the President of the United States at that time: "We are coming, Father Abraham, three hundred thousand strong."

So we say to you, our allied nation, and unto the

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other allied nations, "We are coming, brothers, in the struggle, five millions strong," and, perhaps continuing that statement by quoting President Wilson, himself: "Why stop at five million?" We are giving our manhood and we will give all that we can of our wealth and in sacrifice in order to win this wonderful struggle. I think it was Kipling who in the early stages of the war said: "If we lose the lights of freedom go out over the whole world." I think that is true. I am persuaded that it is true, but I also am persuaded, I am convinced, that we dare not lose, we cannot lose, we will win.

Just a word about our mission. We have come here for the purpose of endeavoring to unite the workers of Great Britain and of France and of Italy to stand with us and we with them in one solid phalanx to make good the declaration of American labor on March 12, 1917, to stand behind our respective governments in winning the war.

You have done such wonderful things in Great Britain in raising an army as you have. You have held the line against the Hun, and we are profoundly grateful. Your line of ships were the last forces against which the Hun would have to go. You have turned out wonderful products in quality as in quantity.

We have sent over about one and a half millions of our fighting forces, the best we have of our fighting boys, to join with and fight with your men.

The men and the women of labor of America are bent upon the production of the fullest quantity and quality of all that is necessary for our fighting boys,

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not only of America, but for the people and soldiers of our allied countries. May I state here two facts that stand out as to what we are trying to do? About eight weeks ago one of the great shipyards in the United States offered a prize if the men in the yard drove one half million of rivets within a week. The prize was given, and about two weeks before our departure from the United States the company gave a banquet in honor of the men in the same yard with the same tools who had driven more than a million rivets in a week. You know, or have read, that a few weeks ago a ship was launched within twenty-seven working days from the time its keel was laid. Last Monday, two weeks ago, a twelve thousand ton steel vessel was launched within twenty-four working days from the time that its keel was laid. Our shipyards are busy, our men are working hard in factories and workshops and mills and mines. The men know that every blow struck with the hammer is a blow at German autocracy.

In our country we have reached the point where representatives of labor are not only in the Cabinet, as in the Cabinet of Great Britain, but labor men are in the Council of National Defense, in every activity or agency of the government, both federal and municipal. We have not yet reached the stage of perfection. I am afraid we never shall, we will have to hope yet. We are making progress, we are bringing about a better understanding and coöperation; we are endeavoring to work out our problems and give whole-hearted support to this tremendous enterprise in which our Republic is engaged. We realize nothing is nearly so im-

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portant now as winning the war. In the meantime, we hope and expect, as we have the right to expect, that every effort shall be put forth that the standards of home life shall not go down, but that on the contrary, we may share each other's burdens and hopes and help in their realization. We are going to stand by you men. We hope and expect, as we confidently believe, that the sturdiness of Britain, the spirit of Belgium, the gallantry of France and the impetuosity and the spirit of America will win this war and give the opportunity for the people to live the life of peace loving men and women; that we who were pacifists before this war and almost in the twinkling of an eye transformed into fighting men—that we would go along with the work of our everyday lives in working out this great problem of life and duty, aiming to attain the highest degree of unity and brotherhood, the highest that the world has ever known. To help in such a crisis and to live in such a time and to contribute to this achievement is a privilege of which every human being should be proud.

WAR AGAINST WAR

This is a war against war—the liberty-loving democracies of the world in a death struggle with the imperialistic militarists of Berlin. It is not a war of militarism against militarism. It is a war of the aroused populations of the democracies of the world fighting militarism. It is a war waged by the enraged civilian populations of the allied countries—uniformed, if you please—for the purpose of maintaining democracy, whose battle flags, adorned with wreaths of victory, shall be furled when that glorious jubilee shall be held to commemorate the return to earth of peace and good-will toward all mankind.

Luncheon and reception tendered to the American Federation of Labor Mission by the American Luncheon Club—Café Du Cardinal, Paris, France, September 26th, 1918.

I FIND considerable difficulty in expressing myself after so flattering an introduction.

It is indeed not only a matter of pleasure but of pride and satisfaction to find that wherever we go Americans, Frenchmen, Britishers, and Italians, and all who love freedom and justice and democracy are willing to say that the time has come in the world's affairs to acknowledge the important part which Labor is playing not only in the war but in the civilization for which we are striving.

May I say this to you men, Americans in France, that I appreciate more than I can tell you the fact that under the auspices of your club, the American club in

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Paris, you have helped to keep alive the embers and the flame of the unity of feeling between the people of France and the people of our own country. Is it necessary at this time and under these auspices to dwell upon the glorious history of France, her wonderful contributions to civilization, to science and art of the world, her valor, and the tremendous effort given by the people of France in the early days of our struggle to establish an independent nation at home? To you, and through you, I would say to the people of France: In this momentous and crucial hour we are now working to pay back the great debt of obligation we owe to you for what you did to make it possible for the Republic of the United States to be founded upon a strong basis and upon an idealism that will match your own.

To us Americans, the name America, the term America, is not merely a name; it is not merely a land; nor is it merely a country. The name of America to us is a symbolism, an idealism, the apotheosis of all that is good and great and righteous.

We, the people and the government of the Republic of the United States, are in this war to pay this debt of obligation. In addition we are in it to render to the world help in the struggle (or I might say better, the crusade) of this period, a period unparalleled in the history of the whole world; for now it is up for decision, finally and for all time, whether this world shall be governed by the principles and policies of autocracy, imperialism and militarism, or whether it shall continue under governments of peoples, for peoples, and by peoples, to live their own lives and to

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work out their own salvation as their best judgment and aspirations direct.

We have not less than twelve millions of people who are either of German birth or extraction, and there is a great number of other nationalities represented in our population. It was no easy matter to hold or concentrate the conscience and the activity and the willingness to sacrifice of all these peoples into one common great mass. I confess that many of us Americans were impatient at the hesitancy and the unwillingness to enter into the war earlier; but I am free to admit that our impatience and our impetuosity were nothing as compared to the good judgment of the President of the United States. His great mind and conscience and understanding fully realized the psychology of the situation. When the time came, he proved himself to be not only a statesman but a tribune of the hard thinking people of the world; and now, to use an American localism, we are in it "up to the hilt."

There is somehow an idea among the representatives of autocracy that there is nothing efficient except an autocratic form of government; that democracies are impotent and inefficient, and that in our country we go along in our own way, everybody for himself and his satanic majesty taking the hindmost. We went along in our own way, blundering along, if you please, and yet maintaining the blessings of freedom and democracy where an individual had the chance to assert himself and live his own life and even to aspire and struggle for something yet better. It was not difficult for the Kaiser and his advisers to look with

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contempt upon the power, or the possibility of the exercise of power, of a democratic people such as we find in France, in England, and in the United States; and so he counted first with disregard as to France, with contempt for Great Britain and with ridicule for the United States.

Well, there is one thing with which autocracy never counts. We are told that somehow even those engaged in expert criminality always leave some foot prints, some slight evidence behind which generally leads to identification and conviction. And so with the Imperial German government. That autocracy failed to reckon with the human side of democracy. It failed to acknowledge or to understand when the conscience and the heart of a people are aroused; that when a democracy is aroused to a point of resentment, of righteous indignation, there is no power on earth which can withstand its mighty march forward and onward.

American labor, despite the fact that there is represented within its ranks men of all nationalities, met in solemn conference on March 12, 1917, and there was conceived the position which the workers of America should take—whether we would be permitted to enjoy the priceless privilege of peace or whether we would be thrust or dragged into the maelstrom of war. By unanimous vote we made a declaration.*

That declaration was unanimously adopted on March 12, 1917. On April 2, the President of the

* Mr. Gompers then read the four closing paragraphs of the declaration of March 12, 1917. See appendix, page 294.

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United States, Woodrow Wilson, appeared before the Congress of the United States and presented that scathing indictment against the Imperial Government of Germany. I am not going to attempt to connect the two, but I think you must know that the President must have had some misgivings as to the situation at home, whether behind him and the government would stand the united support of Labor of America. At any rate, whether there be any cause or effect, the President did present the case against Germany through our Congress on April 2, three weeks after our declaration, and four days afterwards the Congress of the United States declared that a state of war existed between the United States of America and the Imperial Government of Germany. I may say this, that at the convention of the American Federation of Labor succeeding this declaration the indorsement was given by unanimous vote. The convention of the American Federation of Labor held in June last emphasized that declaration and declared that until the German people shall have crushed autocracy for themselves, or we shall have crushed autocracy for them, we will not meet with the representatives of the enemy countries.

I saw in the English edition of a Paris publication that a statement was made yesterday by a representative of the Imperial Government of Germany that the American people and the American government are the most bellicose in this war. Well—I see there are no ladies here—what in hell did we get into the war for! We did not enter into the war to arrange for a nice tea party with a country which will author-

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ize and permit, or order murder and pillage, a country whose people permit its spokesmen and representatives to direct the overrunning and ravaging of a neutral nation, who countenance savagery and brutality, the outrage of innocent women and children, and sending to untimely graves men, women and children on peaceful ships engaged in lawful pursuits.

I have been informed while sitting at this table that a proclamation has been issued by the German military authorities declaring that it is useless and will avail nothing even should the allied armies drive the German armies farther and farther back; that there will be found nothing but waste land and every living or standing thing destroyed. How can they think that we consider this a tea party? Those who have lived by the sword must perish by the sword.

This is a war against war—the liberty-loving democracies of the world in a death struggle with the imperialistic militarists of Berlin. It is not a war of militarism against militarism. It is a war of the aroused populations of the democracies of the world fighting militarism. It is a war waged by the enraged civilian populations of the allied countries—uniformed, if you please—for the purpose of maintaining democracy, whose battle flags, adorned with wreaths of victory, shall be furled when that glorious jubilee shall be held to commemorate the return to earth of peace and good-will toward all mankind.

We are in this war, we are in this crusade, and I want you men of affairs, you men of America now in France, to bear in mind that there is not only up for decision the destruction of autocracy and the relations

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between nation and nation, but that there must come new relations between man and man. We have come to understand what manhood means—the willingness to sacrifice, the willingness to give, the willingness to do and to dare and to die for a common ideal, and out of it will come a new life. When this war began I never in my life felt so depressed and heart-sore for my ideal for international peace was destroyed and I regretted it so, so sorely was I hurt; but there is some power which will shape our destinies, rough-hew them as we will. Probably, it might not have come about in any other way. An autocracy, an imperialism, was endeavoring to impose itself upon the world; and the conscience and the heart of the peoples of the democratic countries responded nobly and eagerly to make the sacrifice, whatever it might be, willing to pay the price, whatever it might be. Now that we are in the war, and I am speaking candidly and honestly from the innermost recess of my soul, I do not regret that the war has come, for I believe that never in the history of the world at any other time could the peoples of the democratic countries have become thoroughly united in this common cause as they now are.

And so the fight is on and the Hun is on the run, with the strength of body and mind and materials we will keep them running until at least they are driven out of the countries they have invaded and ravaged. When they are back in their own country if they talk peace, real peace, we will take our time to consider it. The principles involved in this war must be definitely determined, and while I should hate to have one life to be lost unnecessarily, and the war prolonged one

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minute longer than is essential, yet I say that it is better that the war should go on, that all the sacrifices that may be necessary be borne to determine, finally and for all time, the great causes and principles involved, than that a premature peace be negotiated, thereby transferring to the shoulders of our children or the coming generations another war of probably greater dimensions and horrors within five, ten, twenty, thirty or forty years.

I may say that our men and women at home are working, are bending their backs to the task before them; they are producing materials. You heard a few weeks ago of a ship having been launched within twenty-seven working days from the time the keel was laid; just a brief time thereafter a twelve thousand ton steel ship was launched within twenty-four working days from the time that her keel was laid. That is simply a type of the character of the work that our men and our women are doing.

To help bring about a better feeling between the working people of France and their employers, and the working people of France and the American employers here, I want to say this to you, American business men and employers and publicists: It is only within recent years that the working people of France have secured the right of free association. They are human, like you and me, and likely to err, just like you and me, but I want you to help to give these men and women of labor of France the opportunity of understanding their employers and the American employers in France. I want you to recognize the right of the workers to organize and to come to you and to

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sit down with whatever may be a disagreement between you, and then to reach an agreement upon the basis of common sense and common right. I know of nothing that would more greatly assist in bringing about a better, a more democratic and a more common sense patriotic labor movement in France than such a course pursued by the American employers in France. It would set a worthy example for the French employers in France who still live in the mental surroundings of the fifteenth century when they were working with their vassals and their slaves. I appeal to you, my fellow countrymen, that it will help our employers and labor men in working out our common cause at home for you to set an example in France of the spirit of common unity and recognition that in America we are men with sovereign rights, no matter what position in life we occupy.

Just this one word more. I want to tell you men that we are in the game to the finish. There are no qualifications about it. I know you are doing your share, but I present this thought to you as I have because of the reconstruction time which is to come, the great economic and social problems which must be determined and settled and the details of which must not leave in the hearts of the masses of the people the rancor of injustice. Do your share, and we will do our share. Let us try to do the best we can.

All glory to France, glorious France, whose every page of history I revere, whose gallant men and wonderful women are entitled to our tribute, our respect and our love. All glory to our own beloved America, to the two sister republics entwined and to all our

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allied democratic countries fighting together in this struggle to attain victory fraught with the highest civilization possible in the aspirations of the human mind and heart.

LAST MAN AND LAST DOLLAR FOR FREEDOM

We are with you, men of Italy; we are with you, men of France; we are with you, men of Belgium; we are with you, men of England. We say to-day that this murderous German militarist machine must be destroyed. We will give, to the last man, and the last dollar, to achieve that great purpose.

Official lunch and reception tendered by the Italian Government to the American Federation of Labor Mission, Grand Hotel, Rome, Italy, October 8, 1918.

I WANT you to believe me that I profoundly feel the responsibility of replying even in my humble way to the many expressions of kindness, sympathy and appreciation. It is most difficult to be able to express all that is in one's heart, all that one feels, all that one thinks, all that one strives to attain and contribute toward the achievement of a common idealism.

But may I say this to you? I think that since my associates and I have trod upon the European shores, we have become convinced beyond any peradventure of a doubt, that the heart and the conscience of the manhood of our allied countries ring true to our common cause. There may be one here and there who dares lift up his voice and say that he is not in accord with us in this great struggle; but so it has been from time immemorial in every struggle in the history of

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the human family. Some men, through ignorance, others from pure perversity, fail, or refuse, to make common cause with those who are fighting for a righteous cause. From the early Christian period, men have dared to believe in the hope of human brotherhood. Too many—not always—but too many have indicated “thumbs down.” So it was with the Crusade, and so it was in the American Revolution—the Revolution of the American colonists for the establishment of an independent nation founded upon the rights of man and the inalienable right of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. There were some who fought in America against the establishment of those principles.

In the French Revolution there were some who stood by the old guard against that revolution which recognized the equality of opportunity among men.

And so with our Civil War at home in America, fought to maintain the Union of our Republic and to abolish human slavery—even there some negroes fought against their own emancipation.

And now, in this great crisis, there are some who dare lift up their voices against their emancipation and the liberties of the whole world. Well, these are some of the difficulties and contradictions which appear in the expressions of human nature. Probably it might be better called nonhuman nature.

The American labor movement—the American Federation of Labor—is an institution which stands for justice and democracy. We find in our Republic the men who dare think, and thinking, dare speak, and speaking, dare to do for the right. We have not al-

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ways been in agreement with the government of our country, but that is our own internal affair. But in this great struggle we find that the government and the Congress of our country and the President of the United States are the joint leaders of this movement of the Republic of America to express in word and thought and action the willingness to sacrifice to the last man that the principles for which Washington and the colonists fought, shall not die to-day. We are with you, men of Italy; we are with you, men of France; we are with you, men of England; we are with you, men of Belgium; we say to-day that this murderous German militarist machine must be destroyed. We will give, to the last man and the last dollar, to achieve that great purpose.

Men of Italy, your history is not unknown to us, nor is it lost to us—all that you have said and done, the heroes of battle and of thought, you men, your progenitors who have dared to think, who have dared to speak and who have dared to die for the truth! Is the life of Messini not dear to us? Do we forget Garibaldi and Bantisti? Are their lessons of no value to us? We, the children and the representatives of Washington, Jefferson and Franklin, of Lincoln and Wilson, bring to you the voice and the message of the masses of the people of America that, come what may, the opportunity to live the life of free men must be maintained at any sacrifice.

I sometimes feel concern as to whether you and I are going to prove ourselves worthy of the men who have gone before and whether we are going to receive the condemnation or the commendation of those who

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are to come after us, those who will curse us or bless us as we perform or fail to perform our duty in our time. I am afraid of myself, for I am carried along with enthusiasm, and, if I may say, the impetuosity of a man who has flung all guard to the winds and who aims to be of some help and of some service, not only to the people of his own time but to the men and the women of the future.

I would be afraid to revel in my own conscience if I were not to give all that is in me in this crusade for justice. I would not want to live now one moment if I were to have the conscience or the conviction that the children who are to come after me, my sons and daughter, my grandchildren and those who follow them, would be ashamed to acknowledge that I was a man that had been untrue to our common ideals of justice and democracy. I want to be true to the men who fought and made it possible for the people of Italy and the people of Great Britain and the people of France and the people of the United States to enjoy the freedom that we now have. I want to be true to my fellows of to-day and to help hand down the spirit of freedom to the generations yet unborn.

Pardon me, if you may think or suspect that there is a spirit of braggadocio or that there is a spirit of abandon in what I have said or in what I have tried to do; but I am so thoroughly conscious of the responsibility resting upon the manhood of to-day that when opportunity comes, that which presses upon my tongue for utterance, I say.

That which is in my heart and my soul, I want to convey to the men and women of Italy, and to my

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fellow compatriots in this great universal struggle of the world; that is, that, come what may in this crusade, a new life must result, new relations must be established between man and man, whereby no man shall look down upon the worker as a menial but that he shall be regarded as a man entitled to the full recognition and the stature of manhood; that new relations must be established between nation and nation even to bring democracy and the hope for justice to the peoples of Austria and Germany.

But until then, and so long as the peoples of the Central Powers take up arms against the representatives of democracy, they must be fought to a finish—beaten to their knees and made to understand that they are beaten—beaten beyond hope of the resurrection of their former military power.

Thus you have heard the expressions of a man who, out of sixty-eight years, was sixty-four an ultra-pacifist. I speak to you now, not as a pacifist of to-day but as one who is willing to fight in order that a real peace, real, true internationalism and human brotherhood may be established. I am confident that any attempt to defeat our aims by maneuver, threats or propaganda will fail, equally as the military machine of Germany and Austria has failed. Though sad at heart as we are at the sacrifices that have been and are being made, let us be joyous in the anticipation of the new time that shall come as the result of victory, of triumph unequaled in the cause of Italy, of France, and of Great Britain; of the restoration of Belgium, Roumania and Serbia—when Russia shall be given an opportunity to stand on her feet unafraid

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of German militarism; when Alsace-Lorraine shall be restored to France and when Italy also may come into her own, the wonderful Trentino and Trieste.

The United States of America wants nothing whatever out of this war. You cannot give us anything that we would take. What we want is not only for us to live in peace and unafraid for our freedom, but to know that the peoples of the nationalities of the world have an opportunity in the arts of peace, working for their own salvation, working out their destinies and in the common cause vying with each other to bring about the great, the true ideal of internationalism and human brotherhood.

NO TIME FOR TRAITORS

The man who won't fight to defend the liberty of his country is unworthy of the great privilege of enjoying freedom in his country.

Public meeting at Rome, Italy, October 8, 1918, at Augusteo, Municipio di Roma.

IT is indeed a source of great regret that I cannot address you in the Italian language. No matter how well my words may be interpreted, I wish I could appeal to you directly, not only to your hearts but to your minds and to your conscience. Accept this assurance at the beginning, men and women in this great hall to-night; I convey to you, and through you to the Italian people, the wonderful gratitude the people of America have for what you have already sacrificed and what you are ready to give in order that peace, a lasting peace, a desirable peace, shall be secured at the end of victory.

For more than two hundred years there was the germ in the minds of the colonists of America which culminated in the Declaration of Independence and the establishment of a new nation, a Republic founded upon equal opportunities and rights of man, which gave to the world a new meaning of manhood, of the stature and character of manhood. You can, therefore, vision that vast territory growing up with one-

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hundred millions of people, with wealth untold and ingenuity and industry unsurpassed by any country on the face of the earth; her people living in peace, desiring nothing but peace to work out their own salvation and to follow their own destinies, brought face to face with the murder of her people, with the menace to her liberties, with the horrors of war.

America, the United States, has been in but five wars in its entire history; one the Revolution, which established it as an independent nation and Republic; the second, the war to maintain its integrity against aggression; the third, for the freedom of our southwestern border; the fourth, the war for the altruistic purpose of securing and maintaining the independence of Cuba; and, fifth, this war for the freedom of the whole world.

We had our Civil War, but that war was internal to maintain the integrity of the United States of America and to abolish human slavery.

There never has been a cause in which the United States entered except upon a mission of mercy, of righteousness, of justice, and of freedom.

When the nations of the world entered into a combination to punish the murderers during the Boxer uprising in China, the Kaiser's troops robbed the people of China and brought their loot right to Potsdam palace in Germany. America, the United States, when China was compelled to pay indemnity, said we do not want your indemnity, we do not want your money.

Whether it be the incidents which I have mentioned or the many to which time forbids to make even a reference, there has been no action of an international

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character which the United States of America has taken but that it had for its purpose to bring light and hope into the lives of the people.

I make reference to these incidents only to emphasize the fact that the people and the government of the United States never would have entered into this war if it had not been because their sense of justice and humanity had been outraged by the murderous policy pursued by the Austrian and German military governments.

For more than fifty years the Central Powers have been preparing and organizing their military machine so that when the time seemed opportune these governments might overrun the unprepared peoples of other countries. And then, after threatening the integrity and entity of Serbia, after over-running and ravaging Belgium, after invading France, they continued upon their mad policy of cold blooded murder of innocent people. Never in the history of the world, at least during the last fifty years, have innocent people on board of ships been murdered as was done in the case of the *Lusitania*, the *Sussex*, and many other vessels.

I want you, my friends, to understand some situations, which it is necessary to explain. Many have been impatient because the United States entered into the war so late; but, my friends, bear this in mind. In the one hundred millions of people making up the population of the United States we have now more than twelve million of German birth or German extraction. In France the population is French. In England, the population is English. In Scotland, Scotch. In Italy, Italian. But in America, it is a con-

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glomerate mass of all the peoples of the earth. Out of that conglomerate mass has come a new meaning of America, a solidarity and a determination that when the time had come and the people of the United States began to unite, then was the time to throw our whole power into this war. And we are now in the war, and Germany and Austria know it. Somehow or other I have a notion that the German and Austrian armies can not so valiantly face the men who carry the Stars and Stripes.

And now, may I say this to you, for I desire to present a thought or two upon a subject more local in character than that of the war itself. In Italy, as in America, all the people are not united for the war, but those who are opposed to the war are not true Italians, nor are those in my country who are opposed to the war true Americans. In America, we have now nearly one hundred per cent of our people united for the war. In Italy there are some people who think they are talking but who, like monkeys, are merely jabbering for peace when they ought to be fighting for victory. That is the character of people I have in mind, and, let me say this, that if they are not paid with German money to carry on that work, they are fools, because they can get it. Some little time ago that group, which is constantly growing smaller in Italy, declared itself against the war. Now, they declare themselves indifferent, neutral. I wonder what any group of the same caliber would encounter if they tried to be opposed to the war or to be neutral in Germany? In Germany there is no neutrality; in Germany, there is no indifference; either

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the people must fight or they die. The man who won't fight to defend the liberty of his country is unworthy of the great privilege of enjoying freedom in his country.

The American Federation of Labor, the American labor movement, from the time of its foundation until the outbreak of this war, was the most powerful organization in the world for international peace. Pacifists, full and complete. As for myself, I belonged to every peace society in America, but when the war broke out and I found the government of Germany armed by the most scientific methods to destroy and overrun the peaceful nations, I could no longer remain a pacifist. I have been transformed, as the labor movement of America has been transformed, into a fighting machine to crush militarism.

America has given already two millions of her sons in the fighting on the battle fronts of our allied countries. We have given of our wealth. We are going to give five million men, and more, if necessary. And if we give our life's blood in this common cause, we should have something to say as to those who stand in the way of our victory. I may take this occasion and opportunity to say that no matter who they may be, if enemies through ignorance or perversity, or because they are incapable of understanding the issues involved, whether consciously or unconsciously they are German agents, they would better get out of the way before the aroused conscience and indignation of the liberty-loving peoples of the world drive them into oblivion.

We are not going to permit, if we can help it, a

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repetition of what occurred a few months ago with the Italian troops, at Caporetto, when the Austrians said: "Throw down your arms, Kamerad, Kamerad, Kamerad." And then when the Italian troops threw down their arms, they killed them, and outraged their women and slaughtered their children. No such comradeship must prevail henceforth in this war. When the German army and the Austrian army surrender, then they may call "Kamerad," but not before.

And, now, I want to refer, however briefly, to something also local and in connection with the American labor movement and the American Labor Mission now in Italy. In Rome there is published a sheet which is an insult to the intelligence of the people of Rome. It is an insult to the honor and character of every decent man and woman the world over. The "Avanti" has knowingly published the most scurrilous, vicious and malicious untruths regarding the American Federation of Labor and the American labor movement, including the speaker who stands now before you. It is all well enough for men to differ, for newspapers to differ, from any group of people or individuals, but willfully to misrepresent and misstate facts is indefensible before the conscience of men. The American Federation of Labor consists of wage workers exclusively, and no one can join the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor unless that one is a wage earner. The officers of our unions are wage earners, selected by the membership for service.

I will stop here for a moment to say that I am sure I am giving the "Avanti" the opportunity to attack me, to-morrow or next week, even more sav-

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agely than in the past, and they are quite welcome.

The statement that Italian workers in America are excluded from the American Federation of Labor was made to prejudice the minds of the Italian people against our Mission. This is not a misstatement; it is not a bare untruth! It is a malicious lie, uttered consciously to deceive the people of Italy. To prejudice the minds of the people of Italy against our movement, the salaries of the officers have been printed and commented upon. Well, as a matter of fact, my friends, you know that in America the cost of living has gone up higher than you ever dreamed of here in Italy, and, further, there are the taxes which are required to be paid upon any salary. Then, again, you know that the workmen of Italy may receive four, five, six, eight, or ten lire to-day and that there are men working in other countries for ten cents a day, and what would be said in those countries about the salaries of the functionaries of "Avanti"?

Another attack was that the conference of Labor and Socialists of London last month was a "Gompers' Conference." The fact is that we had five delegates at that conference of more than eighty delegates. With five delegates, I, Gompers, ran away with the convention and made it a "Gompers' Conference," according to "Avanti"—seventy-five delegates against five of us! I hold in my hand a copy of the proposals the American delegates submitted to the London conference. The conference adopted them. The conference recognized that the American labor movement held the right position and adopted our proposals. If five men could control a conference of more than

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eighty, it does seem that the five had the intelligent and righteous position to propose.

"Avanti" and that coterie or group was not represented in London—it was too cowardly to be represented in London. They could not stand face to face with the men representing the American labor movement, after having so foully slandered them.

Since the arrival of my associates of the American Labor Mission and myself in Rome, we have had conferences with every important group, no matter what they represented—socialists, trade unionists, Italian labor unions, government officials, public men and women. To any one who wanted to have a conference we gave the opportunity. Arrangements were made and the "Avanti" group was told that if they wanted to have a conference with us, we would meet them. The time was set for this afternoon, but the cowards did not have the courage to come to us; they sent word that they would not meet us.

If there be any of the "Avanti" crowd or group here, you will have to-morrow and next week and next year to assail me, but you have not got the courage to face me man to man. I know that what I have said this evening will not silence "Avanti" and that group, but, on the contrary, that they will lie more—if they can—invent more lies; but I want to say that if this is the last word that I utter in Rome or in Italy, I hurl it back into the faces of the men who dare insinuate that the labor movement and its men of America are not one hundred per cent true to the common cause of Labor and the masses of the people.

You are all so busy in your work that you may not

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know of a few incidents each important in itself. I want to relate them briefly.

In 1912, the British government put forth the proposal for a Naval holiday, the idea being to stop building war vessels and producing arms and munitions, that program to be limited and reduced by agreement with all the countries of the civilized world. The American Federation of Labor took up that proposal and, by unanimous vote, passed a resolution declaring in favor of the proposition, and asked the government of the United States to support the proposal. The House of Representatives (the Chamber of Deputies of the United States) adopted the resolution. The convention of the American Federation of Labor directed that I should get into correspondence with the labor movements of the different countries, so that these labor movements might prevail upon their governments to enter into the agreement. I sent copies of that resolution to Carl Legien at Berlin, asking him as the official executive of the International Secretariat to send these communications to the labor movement of the different countries. What was his answer? He could not, and would not do it. I make this statement with compliments to "Avanti."

The American Federation of Labor adopted a resolution declaring that the labor movements of the several countries should send delegates to a World Labor Conference at the same time and place where the official delegates from the countries would be when drawing up the peace treaty. I sent that resolution to Carl Legien, and he answered that it would be impossible for him to participate or act in any way upon such a

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resolution; he said further it would be utterly ridiculous.

The coal miners of America, in 1912, sent a delegation to Karlsbad to participate in an international conference of coal miners from the several countries. The American Coal Miners' Union instructed its delegates to present to the conference a proposal that if any country should break the peace of the world, that if international peace was threatened, the miners of all the countries would stop mining coal. What was the position taken by the German delegates? They said: "We cannot remain in this conference; we will not remain in this conference; we won't vote against this resolution, but unless it is withdrawn, we will leave the conference at once." Mark you this; in order that the international movement of coal miners might not be destroyed, the miners of America had to withdraw their proposal.

In 1912-13, the German Socialists in the Reichstag supported the government by increasing the budget to more than one milliard of marks in order to increase the army, the navy and armaments, but at the same time the propaganda went through Italy, through France, through England, and through all the other countries of the world not to increase the army and navy budgets of these governments.

In the United States of America, we have a so-called Socialist party. That party is not American. It is simply a German adjunct of the German Socialist party and the German propaganda. The three controlling members of that party are—you know their names—Adolph Germer, Victor Berger, and Morris

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Hilquit, three Americans with German names, German in sympathy, in coöperation, and in trying to divide America and our allied countries. I mention these incidents with my compliments to "Avanti" and that group.

Now, a word concerning a more important matter than even the pro-Germans in Italy. I have reference to the proposal of the Central Powers for an armistice. Bear this in mind, that that is one of the maneuvers of the Central Powers to divide the people of the allied countries. The American answer, in so far as I can anticipate the answer of the American people, is this: Before you can talk peace with us, back from Serbia, back from Roumania, back from Belgium, back from France, back from Italy, and into your own territory, and then we may talk peace with you. Yes, and back from Russia, too.

America is determined, the American labor movement is determined, that if war cannot be abolished entirely, then at least there shall come a long period of peace, and that war shall be postponed and an opportunity afforded to reach a decision upon any controversy between nations—a league of nations—to settle all questions by reason and upon the principles of justice and right.

In America, the labor movement stands behind the government, and behind President Wilson. We stand behind him not because he is President, but because he is right and because he is the spokesman for freedom and democracy for all the nations of the world. In the American labor movement, we have declared that we will firmly stand upon the fundamental principles

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of the right to maintain the standards of life, and while fighting in Europe for freedom we are not going to lose it at home.

The American labor movement, the American men and women, the toilers, are working hard, bending their backs to the task of producing all that may be necessary to supply to the soldiers and the civilian populations, aye, if necessary, to all of our Allies, to win the war. And you, and you, and you soldiers in uniform, you sailors in uniform, men of Italy, and you who have done service and suffered, and who will face the fight again, I appeal to you as one who has his own flesh and blood in the ranks of the fighting forces in France, in Flanders, in Italy, wherever there is a battle front, I say to you, my friends, my comrades, you in the fighting forces, and we in the producing forces, we are behind you and your brothers in arms; we are with you, the real people of Italy; we are behind the people of our allied countries, and we will never consent to lay down our arms until the murderous military machine of Germany and Austria is crushed and the ability to launch again upon the world such a catastrophe as they have shall be eliminated for all time to come.

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We, in our land, expect to live our own lives and work out our own problems. As a result of this war there must come a new understanding of the rights of man. As a result of this war there must come new relations, not only between nation and nation, but between man and man.

National reception to Mr. Gompers under the auspices of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy, upon the return from Europe of the Labor Mission of which he was chairman, Auditorium Theater, Chicago, November 8th, 1918.

I AM more profoundly impressed than I can well express in words by all that is implied, as well as demonstrated, in this great gathering to-night. An over-attempt at modesty is in itself a species of vanity and I would not have you believe for a moment that I lack appreciation of all that has been said and all that it implied insofar as I may be concerned, but I would prefer, much prefer, that at least the main part of all this great gathering and the sentiment which has produced it shall be interpreted as a tribute to the great labor movement of which I am proud to be a member.

Men in their own lives have attempted to do and to give the best that was within them. Time, opportunity, and circumstance were lacking. But I hold that the man who has done his level best in the cause

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of righteousness and of justice and of freedom, and who failed in his attempt, is entitled to as much profound gratitude as the man who has had the greatest success in his life. No man can do better than his best!

And so it has been my aim, so it has been my purpose, to endeavor to help develop a spirit of democracy among my fellow-workers, that the great tributes shall not go to any one man but to the great mass, to the thought and movement of which we are a part.

Perhaps one of the circumstances causing adverse criticism more than any other during the recent trip of my associates and myself was the fact that the people on the other side of the Atlantic have not yet learned the meaning and the practical application of the principles of democracy.

I have reference particularly to the fact that they have been so accustomed to pay tribute to the man or woman actually or figuratively at the head of their governments, that, even in civil capacities and in civic life, the man at the head of a mission is accorded all the honors, to the neglect of the men forming part of that mission. And it was necessary for your humble servant, as the Chairman of the mission, practically to hold on to his associates in order that they might not be shoved out of the gathering. I really did not intend even privately, much less publicly, to make mention of this typical fact, except that I now want to emphasize with whatever power there is in me, the thought and the fact that the principles of democracy do not flash in the air, they are not fanciful, they are not theoretical, for if they are thought of in that

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fashion, they lose their potency and virility and effect. *Democracy must be practiced and acted every day of our lives to be true.*

I would not want any of you, ladies and gentlemen, to imagine that I have in my mind the possibility that leadership can be dispensed with, that leadership carries with it no responsibility, as well as dignity and respect. On the contrary, I believe now more than ever that the men placed in responsible positions and true to the trust reposed in them, deserve the respect and gratitude of a loyal democratic people, and I want to call to the attention of my fellow countrymen the fact, that unless the principles of democracy are practiced in our every day lives we shall, assuredly as the sun rises and sets, lose the power of democracy because we have not used that function in our lives.

Mr. Chairman, Brother Duncan, Jim; the men and the women who sent their messages here; the rank and file of our people who may have their vision directed here to-night: I want you to believe that I feel all that has been said and all that has been implied and left unsaid, that I have a more profound appreciation and, in the innermost recesses of my soul, a deeper gratitude than I can express. I can only hope that what of life may be left to me will give you and them no cause to regret the respect and the confidence expressed for and in me, for it is, after all, all that one can do—to try and give service to his fellows; and if the trying is worthy of appreciation, I have tried.

It was a great mission entrusted to my associates

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and myself, a mission to convey the messages of fraternity, good will, coöperation and sacrifice, that the opportunity to live the lives of free men and women shall not be crushed from the face of the earth; the message that America had risen to the stature of her greatness and thrown herself across the path of the conquering Hun. It was a message that, if need be, our America would sacrifice and die rather than live the ignominy of cowardice.

America is more than a country. America is more than a continent. America is more than a name. America is an ideal. America is the apotheosis of all that is right.

Some people would have gladly—well, if not gladly, quite sadly—yielded to this great threatening power of the monarchical, military, autocratic machine of Germany. It is so easy, it is so comfortable not to get into the conflict. But it is the character and the willingness of a people to strive and to sacrifice that make happiness and peace possible.

Paraphrasing Tennyson's well known lines, I say that in a great struggle it is better to fight and to lose than not to fight at all.

Where a great principle is involved and men fail to defend it, where a great principle is involved and men refuse to make sacrifices to preserve it, there is no hope for them or for those who come after them. Fight for the right and even though you are defeated, the spark is still in the heart and the brain, handed down from father to son, from mother to daughter, and to later generations until finally that spark bursts into a flame and the torch of liberty is again alight.

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I say this as a man who has seen sixty-eight years of life and who, for more than fifty years of that life, was one of the most active pacifists in the world, belonging to all the peace organizations of America and of the world, who as a pacifist gave his assistance to the movement of labor, to the movement of the men and women of other walks of life to maintain the peace of the world. It did not imply that when a marauder with his band of militant assassins went abroad to kill, to ravage, to destroy, that my pacifism could consistently shield the man or the men who would not fight to defend their wives and their little ones.

The man or the men who would not fight in defense of freedom—the men who would not fight in defense of their country engaged in a righteous cause, are unworthy to live and enjoy the privileges of a free country.

And so, whining, cowardly, beaten Austria, the puppet of Germany, the puppet of the Kaiser that demanded the extermination of Serbia, is asking for peace and getting it, while the Serbians, driven out of their country, are going back. Austria-Hungary is an imperial government of the past.

It was a great privilege and a pleasure to be upon the Belgian front and to find that the Belgian army had that very morning captured five thousand German soldiers. When that demand was made by the German Imperial Government ostensibly upon Serbia but actually, knowing the conditions and situation, upon England and France and Russia, there was made this one great mistake, which autocracy and imperial-

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ism always make. As a criminal planning a crime, robbery or murder, with all the ingenuity of his class, always leaves something out of his reckoning, some trail which proves his undoing, so the imperialistic autocrats of Germany, with their preparation of half a century to perfect the greatest scientific military machine that the world has ever known, took for granted that Belgium small, France frivolous, Russia a weakling, England indifferent and money-making—that they would not respond to the principles of justice and of right. It never entered into the minds of the autocrats of Germany that America, this easy-going people of ours, a people engaged in labor, in business, in politics, could be united. It never entered their minds that this vast country of ours, with more than a hundred millions of people made up of all nationalities, could produce anything like a united spirit and a willingness to serve and to sacrifice. It was one of those great mistakes in the calculations of autocracy which believes nothing is efficient except power.

The autocracy of Germany could not understand or feel what is meant by the practice of freedom and democracy, and that once the soul of the people of our democracy was touched, they would stand united more thoroughly than the people of any country on the face of the globe; united and determined, come what might, that that freedom proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence, for which our forefathers gave up their lives and their possessions, should not perish from the earth; a freedom fought for not only in order that America might be a new nation, a republic, but that the rights of man should have a new meaning.

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The autocracy of Germany failed to understand what was meant by the struggle of our civil war to maintain the Union and to abolish human slavery. They did not know,—the autocracy of Germany could not comprehend, a war undertaken by the United States against Spain for the liberty of Cuba.

The autocracy of Germany could not understand that a hundred millions of people within the confines of the United States of America could be or would be united to make safe for our people the traversing of the seas, united to avenge the lives of those who had been murdered on the *Lusitania*.

We had been too often described as a nation whose ideal was the dollar mark. Never in the history of the world have a people responded with such alacrity, with such earnestness and willingness to serve and if need be to die, as have the people of our Republic in this cause.

To-day, after my return, after all that I have seen, I am more proud than ever before in my whole life of my righteous claim to be an American.

In the work of our American Federation of Labor Mission to England, to France, and to Belgium, our conferences with our men there, our public discussions with the men of labor and of other affairs there, we predicated our position upon the declared basis of the American labor movement, and we put forth our position, not only upon the righteousness of our cause and our stand, but also upon the further fact, that we had two million of our own American boys, flesh of our flesh and blood of our blood, over there.

We were giving, if need be, our boys and our

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women and the wealth produced by our hands and brain, and we had the right to have a say-so in every detail in which we were involved in this struggle.

Before the United States entered into the war, it might have been regarded as gratuitous for us even to suggest a thing to any of the democratic nations involved in the struggle, but now that we are in the war up to the hilt,—well, nothing should be done by kings or cabinets or men of labor without the full consent of the representatives of our Republic. And it was with no mealy mouth that the American Labor Mission expressed their firm convictions.

I call your attention to part of the declaration adopted by the conference of America's workers at Washington, the capital of our nation, on March 12th, 1917, where the Executive Council had summoned representative labor men, a declaration worthy of serious consideration in every line and every word, now and for the future. The declaration insists that conditions of labor and freedom during any war which may come, or during the times of peace if peace should prevail, shall be built upon the basis of an American standard of life and work. Thus, American labor, American workers, stood one hundred per cent. behind the government and the President of the United States.

I commend the declaration* to your serious thought. I am quite confident that as time goes on the utterances in it will become more and more important. I refrain from reading it because it is too lengthy. I will not even read the declaration made by the Lon-

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don Inter-Allied Labor Conference of September.* I wish merely to call your attention to the fact that the American Labor Mission proposed and the conference adopted, not in the same words but in the same sense and purpose and meaning, the declaration of organized labor in America made more than a year and a half before.

The conference, which had declared its pacifism and some other things, was held in executive, or secret session, but at the demand of our mission and at the proposal of our mission, the conference in which we participated was held with the searchlight of public opinion right upon every delegate present.

We held that we could not be consistent in denouncing secret diplomacy and at the same time hold executive, secret sessions ourselves. Whether the delegates liked it or not, they voted for open sessions. From that time we knew that America's position was right and would be endorsed. Men can not help being a little more decent in public than they may be in secret and private.

The condition which we found to exist in our Allied countries was something to give us all concern. Every attempt that we made was combated by the pro-Germans, by the propagandists, by the pacifists and by the French and Italian Bolsheviks. The Socialist Bolshevik press of those countries endeavored to forestall every move which we made or were about to make.

In Italy, for instance, we were represented by this press as fakes and frauds and all that sort of thing;

* See page 374 of appendix for this declaration.

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they said that we were not representing American labor, that we did not speak for it or in its name. Our answer was that the difficulty with these people is that whatever of a labor movement exists there it is usually dominated by some professor, some failure in professional life, who had gotten his fangs into the labor movement and usually poisoned it and destroyed it; that the American labor movement is composed of working men and working women and that the men in the official positions of our movement are the men who have been taken from the mine, from the shop, from the building; and that we had said, "Now, don't you build any more, don't you mine coal any more, don't you make brick any more; we want you to be our spokesman, our defender, our advocate." Such an attitude does not sit well in the crop of the so-called intellectuals of England, or France, or Italy, or even the United States.

Our labor movement is conducted for the working people, is composed of the working people, is administered by the working people. We said that we had fully four million organized workers in America, and the *Avanti* (literally translated into English, the *Advance*), a Bolshevik organ, pretending to be an official Italian socialist paper, came back and said, "Well, Mr. Gompers may represent four million workmen in the United States, but he represents more millions of dollars."

I mentioned each member of the mission and referred to the trade at which he had spent the major portions of his life, giving my own as a cigarmaker who had worked at his trade for twenty-six years, and

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I said there was not any member of our mission who, if he left the position he occupied and did not earn anything in three or six months, would not have to go to the poorhouse.

As an interesting incident, when I got that far Mr. William Bowen, President of the Bricklayers, interrupted me and said, "You are mistaken, sir. I can live a year without it."

I made this remark, intending to refute, to repudiate and to condemn the statement made that we represented money of any character but I did say something like this: "If I do represent dollars, no one has yet accused me of having received German dollars."

And I made this inquiry: Can the publishers of the *Avanti*, the official Socialist organ of Italy, honestly make the same claim?

I shall not pay too great a tribute to my associates nor make any claim for myself. All I think I should say, and what I am justified in saying, is that we did try very hard, and succeeded to some degree, in putting some stiffening into the backbone of the people of the countries which we visited to make them stand behind their governments at least until after the war shall have been won.

We have come back to our country more thoroughly American than ever, more thoroughly convinced that our people and our government stand out as a wonderful object lesson to the peoples of the whole world.

We visited the fronts, the battlefields where shot and shell and deadly gas were thick; we were within the firing lines, in trenches, on ramparts, in the open

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field with the whizzing and the screaming of shells bursting in the distance upon enemy soil, and right within a radius of a few feet of where we stood. We saw the flames of Cambrai lighting the sky; we saw the great Monte Sec, which the valiant French soldiers for more than four years had endeavored to re-conquer and re-take without effect, and our boys, American boys, had just taken it, with one thousand prisoners. On the Piave, on the firing line within 350 yards of the lines of the Austrian soldiers, we saw the battles; we saw men falling from the clouds, their balloons or machines having been destroyed. Some of them, I do not know whether it was for their best good, with their parachutes over them, fell within the lines of the German army. We saw the German dead on the battlefield; we saw their horses, we saw their cannon abandoned; we saw cities and towns and villages destroyed, annihilated, nothing left except crumpled stone and brick to testify that a living, human being ever occupied them.

No mind can conceive the actual facts and conditions we saw. Nine years ago, in connection with a mission for Labor, by direction of the American Federation of Labor, I incidentally went to Naples and then to Pompeii and there I saw what the world called the City of the Dead. No living human being was there. There are pictures of the city in some of the books which discuss the magnificent art and architecture. There are evidences of amphitheaters, of great public market places, of the racing of the chariots and the horses, and of the slaves. But in the cities and towns and villages we saw, there was not the

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slightest evidence that ever a human being trod upon that soil.

You may see in pictures, you may read in stories, or you may have described to you by a tongue more eloquent and capable of description than my poor powers will permit, but it is not given to humankind to understand all of the awful destruction and devastation, the havoc wrought by the brutal German militarist machine.

We went to the hospitals, and the first aid units, where we saw Americans, lacerated and wounded and bereft of limbs; we saw not only all the horrors of these things but we also saw men who had been gassed, and hell in Dante's fertile mind contained nothing to equal the tortures of the men gassed by German Kultur.

Time and circumstances prohibit an attempt at detail. The men of America, our country, our Republic, our people, are not merely respected by the people of the allied countries of Europe, they are venerated. The name of America and the name of Wilson are constantly upon their lips, expressing the deepest sentiment of the people of all classes in the democratic countries allied to ours, all except the pro-Germans and the Bolsheviks, who are one and the same.

America is acclaimed by the King and Queen of England, by President Poincaré, by Clemenceau, Viviani, Joffre, by the workers of England and of France, by the workers and the masses of the people of Italy, by King Albert, by reviving Belgium, by Victor Emmanuel, the King of Italy, by all the great

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men, by all the leading spirits, by the rank and file of the masses of the people of this generation—"Vive l'Amerique! Vive Wilson!" on the tongues and the lips of all.

There is not in all France or Italy any city or town or village in which you do not find a street, a boulevard or a park named for Wilson. Traversing twenty miles of road uphill to reach the top of Monte Grappe, only a mile and a half high, the devious, rising, winding course reaches, about the middle of the mountain, a little station where our boys get coffee and sandwiches, and, once in a great while, a piece of pie—there on that mountain is Via Wilson.

We must be worthy of battle, we must be true to the altruism and to the sense of justice of the Republic of the United States. One of the greatest mistakes of Germany was that she mistook her own position and she believed that she was profound when she was merely ponderous, that might and power and force were the only elements which could decide. Perhaps one of the greatest mistakes which German Kultur and diplomacy have made since the beginning of the war has been the treatment of Russia since Russia went out of the war. If Germany had entered into a treaty with Russia upon fair, liberal, generous terms, she would not only have won the respect of the people of Russia, but she would have made a profound impression upon the peoples and the governments of all the countries of the world, and, more than likely, would have made herself the dominant figure and factor in the lives of the nations of the world.

Of course, she might have regarded such a treaty

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with Russia with no more respect that she regarded the treaty with Belgium—simply as a scrap of paper. She would then have gone in and whipped Russia and in turn taken all the generous provisions away. That is the idea of brute force—that nothing can win except power. The nation which has lived by the sword must and will perish by the sword.

One, perhaps the greatest, of all the many wonderful utterances of our great President during this war, was the answer which he made in that very brief note to Austria. It broke the backbone of their morale. The hope was that Labor would be divided in the United States, that Labor would be divided in the other Allied countries and that the President and the governments of the Allied countries would be forced to make a premature peace favorable to Germany and to Austria.

And our own wonderful Pershing, when standing before the tomb of Lafayette, called upon for an address, delivered himself thus: "Lafayette, we are here!"

That phrase, that declaration is also on the tips of the tongues of the people of France. It was not my good fortune to have been a participant in the luncheon given to the American Labor Mission by President Poincaré of France and Mme. Poincaré. The incident which forbade my being there is probably known to you, but at that luncheon, my associates told me, not only the President but Mme. Poincaré, with tears falling upon her cheeks, sincerely expressed her great appreciation and gratitude to the soldiers and the manhood and womanhood of America, not

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only for what we were now doing but for our first contribution that changed the tide of battle at Château Thierry last July.

Ours was the only force, the only power left to save France and England. We were gratified with assurances of the same character, expressions of the same feeling of gratitude and veneration by the cabinet of Great Britain and that great democrat, Lloyd George.

We, in our land, expect to live our own lives and work out our own problems. As a result of this war, there must come a new understanding of the rights of man. As a result of this war, there must come new relations not only between nation and nation but between man and man.

Our men and women have bent and are bending their backs to the task of producing the things upon which the armies and navies depend. Men and women of labor in America have done their full duty and will continue to do their full duty, and for the sacrifices which they have made out of their strength and health, for the sacrifices they have made upon the battlefield, freedom must not be lost to them in times of peace. They want an accounting of the stewardship of our people, of what we have done and what we have failed to do to maintain the standard of life, the American standard of life, that no pauperization of the sisters and brothers and fathers and mothers shall occur while our boys are at the front. Mingling as they do, ditch-digger and the son of millionaire and business man, all of them in the same trench, in the same tent, sharing the same fare, the same hardships

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and the same risks,—these men will come back to our country with glory and victory written into their very souls and they will want an accounting of our stewardship while they have been over there.

They know that the peoples of the world, regardless of where their countries may be, are now much nearer than before. Our American soldier boys are speaking French, are speaking Italian, and they will have a new lingo in which they can question us.

They have gotten a broader vision and understanding. Their own lives and minds have become broadened. They have mingled with the English Tommies, the French Poilus and the Italians, all of whom have given them new thoughts, and the man or woman who can not answer straightforwardly to her boy or his boy when he comes back here will have a hard row to hoe.

The war is nearly over, men and women. It was my great privilege to say, almost at the beginning of the war, that we hoped and expected that the German people themselves would crush militarism and autocracy from their country, but if they failed, by the gods, we would crush it for them.

The alternative was either inside or outside. Instead of their crushing their autocratic militarist machine themselves, we have done it—are doing it—will continue to do it from the outside while some spirit of German democracy, or German desperation against the failure of that militarist machine, will help to establish democracy in Germany.

We want to see this world governed by the people of the land, by the people who must work and

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serve and pay, and they shall have a voice in determining finally, once and for all, what the condition of service shall be.

We want the Declaration of Independence to defend us, the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness not to be a mere generality but the rule of every day life where every man shall be a king and every woman a queen by her own fireside.

In the time now near at hand we have yet much to do. The war work campaign about to begin is just as essential now and for the future as has been any preparation for the military side of the war. Give service, contributions, payment, anything and everything for labor, for freedom, for justice, for democracy.

When this war shall finally have been triumphantly closed, there will come the problem of reconstruction and rehabilitation. With the demobilization of our army and the men of our great fleets into civil life, we shall have either intelligent demobilization or rampant demoralization.

To meet the new problems after the war will take the best thought of our best men and our best women, unselfish and true, with high consciences and high resolves, determined to do right.

It has been a terrible war, men and women. It has cost more lives and more sacrifice than any previous struggle in the history of the world; it involved more.

The Crusade was for an ideal. What was contained in our Revolutionary War, what was contained in Lincoln's immortal proclamation of freedom for the black slave—all of these thoughts and ideals, made for a time or for a nation, are all in-

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tended to be, and, with the intelligent coöperation of our people, will be the rules and regulations and the constitution of the nations of the whole civilized world.

You and I, who have given our flesh and our blood as a contribution and as a sacrifice to this world struggle, may feel our losses keenly, but in the time to come when the story shall have been written, just as we praise and glorify the sacrifices of those who have gone before and made possible the life of the American people, so will generations of men and women yet unborn rise up and call us blessed for the service which we have done, for the sacrifices which we have made for glorious America, for the glory and the civilization and the freedom and the justice of the peoples of the whole world, and then the song of the poet and the dream of the philosopher shall have been realized in the universal brotherhood of man.

PART II
LABOR'S OFFICIAL WAR RECORD

LABOR'S OFFICIAL WAR RECORD

FOREWORD

IN order that the record of the American Federation of Labor in connection with the great war may be complete in this volume, at least in its broader aspects, there are here set forth the principal official documents that the Federation has produced since the war began in 1914. Together with the addresses of President Gompers, these documents show the trend and development of official labor policy during the greatest stress and trial to which the modern world has ever been subjected.

While the complete documentary record of the American Federation of Labor during the period covered would fill not only one but several volumes, it has been deemed wise to limit the publication here to those sections of the reports of the Executive Council of the Federation and of the reports of the Federation Committee on International Relations dealing with the war and the actions of the convention thereon.

The declaration adopted by a conference of trade union officials in Washington on March 12, 1917, which is made a part of one of the Executive Council Reports, is deemed of sufficient importance, for the purposes of this volume, to be given precedence and

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printed out of its sequential order. It was in this meeting, held in Washington nearly a month before the United States entered the war, that organized labor determined upon the policy which has been consistently followed since that date. It is not too much to say that the document adopted at that meeting must have been a source of great strength and satisfaction to the National Administration, a reassurance, the value of which can scarcely be overrated.

All of the documents here produced are reports and resolutions unanimously adopted in annual conventions of the American Federation of Labor, except the proposals of the American Federation of Labor Mission to the Inter-Allied Labor Conference at London September 17-20, 1918. These proposals were based upon declarations of the A. F. of L. They were adopted by the Conference and will be submitted to the annual convention of the A. F. of L. June, 1919.

AMERICAN LABOR'S POSITION IN PEACE OR IN WAR

Washington, D. C., March 12, 1917.

A conference of the representatives of the national and international trade unions of America, called by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, was held in the American Federation of Labor Building, March 12, 1917, in which conference the representatives of affiliated national and international trade unions and the railroad brotherhoods participated.

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor had the subject-matter for three days under advisement prior to the conference and submitted a declaration to the conference. The entire day was given over to a discussion of the recommendation and such suggestions as were submitted. After a thorough discussion the following document was adopted by a unanimous vote:

We speak for millions of Americans. We are not a sect. We are not a party. We represent the organizations held together by the pressure of our common needs. We represent the part of the nation closest to the fundamentals of life. Those we represent wield the nation's tools and grapple with the forces that are brought under control in our material civilization. The power and use of industrial tools is greater than the tools of war and will in time supersede agencies of destruction.

A world war is on. The time has not yet come when war has been abolished.

Whether we approve it or not, we must recognize that war is a situation with which we must reckon. The present European war, involving as it does the majority of civilized nations and affecting the industry and commerce of the whole world, threatens at any moment to draw all countries, including our own, into the conflict. Our immediate prob-

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lem, then, is to bring to bear upon war conditions instructive forethought, vision, principles of human welfare and conservation that should direct our course in every eventuality of life. The way to avert war is to establish constructive agencies for justice in times of peace and thus control for peace situations and forces that might otherwise result in war.

The methods of modern warfare, its new tactics, its vast organization, both military and industrial, present problems vastly different from those of previous wars. But the nation's problems afford an opportunity for the establishment of new freedom and wider opportunities for all the people. Modern warfare includes contests between workshops, factories, the land, financial and transportation resources of the countries involved; and necessarily applies to the relations between employers and employees, and as our own country now faces an impending peril, it is fitting that the masses of the people of the United States should take counsel and determine what course they shall pursue should a crisis arise necessitating the protection of our Republic and defense of the ideals for which it stands.

In the struggle between the forces of democracy and special privilege, for just and historic reasons the masses of the people necessarily represent the ideals and the institutions of democracy. There is in organized society one potential organization whose purpose is to further these ideals and institutions—the organized labor movement.

In no previous war has the organized labor movement taken a directing part.

Labor has now reached an understanding of its rights, of its power and resources, of its value and contributions to society, and must make definite constructive proposals.

It is timely that we frankly present experiences and conditions which in former times have prevented nations from benefiting by the voluntary, whole-hearted coöperation of wage-earners in war time, and then make suggestions how these hindrances to our national strength and vigor can be removed.

War has never put a stop to the necessity for struggle to establish and maintain industrial rights. Wage-earners in war times must, as has been said, keep one eye on the

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exploiters at home and the other upon the enemy threatening the national government. Such exploitation made it impossible for a warring nation to mobilize effectively its full strength for outward defense.

We maintain that it is the fundamental step in preparedness for the nation to set its own house in order and to establish at home justice in relations between men. Previous wars, for whatever purpose waged, developed new opportunities for exploiting wage-earners. Not only was there failure to recognize the necessity for protecting rights of workers that they might give that whole-hearted service to the country that can come only when every citizen enjoys rights, freedom and opportunity, but under guise of national necessity, Labor was stripped of its means of defense against enemies at home and was robbed of the advantages, the protections, the guarantees of justice that had been achieved after ages of struggle. For these reasons workers have felt that no matter what the result of war, as wage-earners they generally lost.

In previous times Labor had no representatives in the councils authorized to deal with the conduct of war. The rights, interests and welfare of workers were autocratically sacrificed for the slogan of "national safety."

The European war has demonstrated the dependence of the governments upon the coöperation of the masses of the people. Since the masses perform indispensable service, it follows that they should have a voice in determining the conditions upon which they give service.

The workers of America make known their beliefs, their demands and their purposes through a voluntary agency which they have established—the organized labor movement. This agency is not only the representative of those who directly constitute it, but it is the representative of all those persons who have common problems and purposes but who have not yet organized for their achievement.

Whether in peace or in war the organized labor movement seeks to make all else subordinate to human welfare and human opportunity. The labor movement stands as the defender of this principle and undertakes to protect the wealth-producers against the exorbitant greed of special interests, against profiteering, against exploitation, against the detestable methods of irresponsible greed, against the

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inhumanity and crime of heartless corporations and employers.

Labor demands the right in war times to be the recognized defender of wage-earners against the same forces which in former wars have made national necessity an excuse for more ruthless methods.

As the representatives of the wage-earners we assert that conditions of work and pay in government employment and in all occupations should conform to principles of human welfare and justice.

A nation can not make an effective defense against an outside danger if groups of citizens are asked to take part in a war though smarting with a sense of keen injustice inflicted by the government they are expected to and will defend.

The corner-stone of national defense is justice in fundamental relations of life—economic justice.

The one agency which accomplishes this for the workers is the organized labor movement. The greatest step that can be made for national defense is not to bind and throttle the organized labor movement but to afford it greatest scope and opportunity for voluntary effective co-operation in spirit and in action.

During the long period in which it has been establishing itself, the labor movement has become a dynamic force in organizing the human side of industry and commerce. It is a great social factor, which must be recognized in all plans which affect wage-earners.

Whether planning for peace or war the government must recognize the organized labor movement as the agency through which it must coöperate with wage-earners.

Industrial justice is the right of those living within our country. With this right there is associated obligation. In war time obligation takes the form of service in defense of the Republic against enemies.

We recognize that this service may be either military or industrial, both equally essential for national defense. We hold this to be incontrovertible that the government which demands that men and women give their labor power, their bodies or their lives to its service should also demand the service, in the interest of these human beings, of all wealth and the products of human toil—property.

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We hold that if workers may be asked in time of national peril or emergency to give more exhausting service than the principles of human welfare warrant, that service should be asked only when accompanied by increased guarantees and safeguards, and when the profits which the employer shall secure from the industry in which they are engaged have been limited to fixed percentages.

We declare that such determination of profits should be based on costs of processes actually needed for product.

Workers have no delusions regarding the policy which property owners and exploiting employers pursue in peace or in war and they also recognize, that wrapped up with the safety of this Republic are ideals of democracy, a heritage which the masses of the people received from our forefathers, who fought that liberty might live in this country—a heritage that is to be maintained and handed down to each generation with undiminished power and usefulness.

The labor movement recognizes the value of freedom and it knows that freedom and rights can be maintained only by those willing to assert their claims and to defend their rights. The American labor movement has always opposed unnecessary conflicts and all wars for aggrandizement, exploitation and enslavement, and yet it has done its part in the world's revolutions, in the struggles to establish greater freedom, democratic institutions and ideals of human justice.

Our labor movement distrusts and protests against militarism, because it knows that militarism represents privilege and is the tool of special interests, exploiters and despots. But while it opposes militarism, it holds that it is the duty of a nation to defend itself against injustice and invasion.

The menace of militarism arises through isolating the defensive functions of the state from civic activities and from creating military agencies out of touch with masses of the people. Isolation is subversive to democracy—it harbors and nurtures the germs of arbitrary power.

The labor movement demands that a clear differentiation be made between military service for the nation and police duty, and that military service should be carefully distinguished from service in industrial disputes.

We hold that industrial service shall be deemed equally

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meritorious as military service. Organization for industrial and commercial service is upon a different basis from military service—the civic ideals still dominate. This should be recognized in mobilizing for this purpose. The same voluntary institutions that organized industrial, commercial and transportation workers in times of peace will best take care of the same problems in time of war.

It is fundamental, therefore, that the government co-operate with the American organized labor movement for this purpose. Service in government factories and private establishments, in transportation agencies, all should conform to trade union standards.

The guarantees of human conservation should be recognized in war as well as in peace. Wherever changes in the organization of industry are necessary upon a war basis, they should be made in accord with plans agreed upon by representatives of the government and those engaged and employed in the industry. We recognize that in war, in certain employments requiring high skill, it is necessary to retain in industrial service the workers specially fitted therefor. In any eventuality when women may be employed, we insist that equal pay for equal work shall prevail without regard to sex.

Finally, in order to safeguard all the interests of the wage-earners organized labor should have representation on all agencies determining and administering policies of national defense. It is particularly important that organized labor should have representatives on all boards authorized to control publicity during war times. The workers have suffered much injustice in war times by limitations upon their right to speak freely and to secure publicity for their just grievances.

Organized labor has earned the right to make these demands. It is the agency that, in all countries, stands for human rights and is the defender of the welfare and interests of the masses of the people. It is an agency that has international recognition which is not seeking to rob, exploit or corrupt foreign governments but instead seeks to maintain human rights and interests the world over, nor does it have to dispel suspicion nor prove its motives either at home or abroad.

The present war discloses the struggle between the insti-

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tutions of democracy and those of autocracy. As a nation we should profit from the experiences of other nations. Democracy can not be established by patches upon an autocratic system. The foundations of civilized intercourse between individuals must be organized upon principles of democracy and scientific principles of human welfare. Then a national structure can be perfected in harmony with humanitarian idealism—a structure that will stand the tests of the necessities of peace or war.

We, the officers of the National and International Trade Unions of America in national conference assembled in the capital of our nation, hereby pledge ourselves in peace or in war, in stress or in storm, to stand unreservedly by the standards of liberty and the safety and preservation of the institutions and ideals of our Republic.

In this solemn hour of our nation's life, it is our earnest hope that our Republic may be safeguarded in its unwavering desire for peace; that our people may be spared the horrors and the burdens of war; that they may have the opportunity to cultivate and develop the arts of peace, human brotherhood and a higher civilization.

But, despite all our endeavors and hopes, should our country be drawn into the maelstrom of the European conflict, we, with these ideals of liberty and justice herein declared, as the indispensable basis for national policies, offer our services to our country in every field of activity to defend, safeguard and preserve the Republic of the United States of America against its enemies whomsoever they may be, and we call upon our fellow workers and fellow citizens in the holy name of Labor, Justice, Freedom and Humanity to devotedly and patriotically give like service.

INTERNATIONAL WAR AND PEACE

From the report of the Executive Council to the American Federation of Labor convention held in Philadelphia, Pa., November, 1914.

A stupendous conflict is shaking to its foundations the structure of world civilization. The normal relations of commerce and interchange have been disrupted. In Europe values placed upon the interests and purposes of human activity have been reversed.

Before the war, the thought and effort of civilization were centered upon the development and the glorification of human life. One life was counted of infinite value. The end of progress, development, and work was that each individual might have life more abundantly. Indefatigable minds have forced understanding of the unknown that human life might be protected and conserved, and that all the forces and resources of the universe might be put under the control of the will of man. Hearts that were great with love and understanding of the yearnings and aspirations that lie in every life sought to bring beauty and joy into the common life of all. Over all the world was felt the stir of that great ideal—the fellowship of men.

But since the cataclysm that brought war between nations, all the skill, the inventions, the knowledge of civilization have been perverted to purposes of destruction of human life and devastation of the products of human labor. Men are treated as only military pawns to obey implicitly the command of the general. They are targets for the most perfect guns and destructive ammunition human minds have invented. Things are valued for their life-destroying power. Guns are worth more than men. The value of military position is estimated in terms of human lives. The life and the property of the individual are ruthlessly sacrificed to ends of war.

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The cruelty and butchery of the war are appalling. The waste and the suffering in its wake are heart-rending. The blackened homes, the ruined lives, the long procession of homeless, seeking food and shelter from the hands of strangers—all these are the products of war. There are nations that are sending the flower of their manhood to meet almost certain death. The strong, the healthy, the fit leave the work of the nation to the old and the very young, to women and to children. For centuries the nations will suffer from this mad stupid waste—for the fathers of the next generations will be the unfit physically and mentally, those whose vision or hearing is imperfect, those of under-size and subnormal development.

Yet this war with its terrific toll of human lives is the product of artificial conditions and policies and is repugnant to the thought and political progress of the age. The big things of life and civilization are international. But so far we have made little effort or progress in providing agencies for organizing international relations to maintain peace and justice. We realize intellectually that peace and justice should obtain among nations, but we have not yet instituted permanent means adequate to make that conviction a reality.

A time when we are confronted by the effects and the appalling realities of a most terrible war is a peculiarly appropriate opportunity for the people to think out methods and agencies for the maintenance of peace. The terrible consequences of war which are forced upon us everywhere envelop peace plans with an unusual atmosphere of practicability and urgency. The appeal for peace is getting very close to the American people, the only great nation not directly involved in the war and consequently the nation that holds in its hands the power of mediation and use of its good offices. This opportunity constitutes a duty if we really believe in the fellowship of men and the sacredness of human life.

For years peace societies and organizations have presented arguments for peace, have adopted peace resolutions, and have declared for various international sentiments, but they have made little effort to give these visions reality in the organization of society and the relations among nations. But the war has shown that war can not be stopped by paper resolutions and that war can not put an end to itself. Wars

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will cease only when society is convinced that human life is really sacred and when society establishes agencies, international as well as national, for protecting lives.

We profess to believe that all men have inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, but we do not see to it that these rights are secured to each individual. Industry is conducted upon the supposition that human life is cheap. Profits are held to be the ultimate end of business. Therefore business managers must get profits and in furthering the getting sacrifice the workers in the process. Employers cold-bloodedly calculate in money terms the relative expensiveness of machinery and workers; of the eight-hour day and the twelve-hour day; of child labor and adult labor; of compensation for loss of life and limb and preventive measures. In coal mines, steel works and in transportation, human life is risked and sacrificed with cynical disregard. We profess to believe in democratic freedom yet domination of power so ruthlessly prevails in industry.

Consider the statistics of industrial accidents, injuries and deaths. In harmony with this waste of human life in industry is waste of human life in a crude effort to decide political issues on the battlefield.

When we realize the wonderful possibilities in permitting each individual to develop his abilities and do his work with a sound mind and body, then shall we appreciate the sanctity of living and we shall not dare to hamper development in any way. When this ideal becomes a part of our daily thinking and doing and working then fellow-beings will not be robbed of that which no one has the power to restore—life. The establishment of this ideal of the sacredness of life is a problem of education. It must be drilled into people, made a part of their very being, and must saturate every mental fiber.

It is not only that we are shocked at the waste of human life, but that we have not yet adjusted ourselves to this particular kind of waste—waste in war. We must realize the awful responsibility for the loss of human life so that with clearness and with understanding of the meaning of that waste nothing will prevent our putting an end to all preventable waste. When conviction is sufficiently compelling practical results will follow. Education and

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agitation are necessary to create that conviction. Those who wish to abolish war must lose no opportunity to implant the ethics of humanity, to make the sacredness of human life a part of the thought and action of the nations. The power to declare war must be put in the hands of the people or their chosen representatives.

In addition to establishing a sentiment and a conviction for peace there must be agencies established for the maintenance of peaceful relations among nations and for dealing with international issues. Militarism and competitive armament must be abolished and tribunals for awarding justice and agencies for enforcing determinations must be instituted. International interests and issues exist. Political institutions should be established, corresponding to political developments.

Those most interested should lead in the demands for world federation and the rule of reason between nations. The working people of all lands bear the brunt of war. They do the fighting, pay the war taxes, suffer most from the disorganization of industry and commerce which results from war.

In accord with the action of the Seattle Convention upon the resolution endorsing the Naval Holiday plan proposed by the First Lord of Admiralty of Great Britain, that the nations cease from making additions to their navies for the period of one year, and that the plan be urged upon all the labor movements and governments of the civilized world, the President of the American Federation of Labor wrote to President Legien of the International Federation of Trade Unions advising him of this action and requesting that it be conveyed to the various affiliated national centers, for presentation to their respective governments.

President Legien replied that under the laws of Germany as a representative of a trade union he would not be allowed to forward such a document to the officers of the national trade union centers of the different countries. He stated that in Germany the difference between political and economic organizations was carefully distinguished, and that discussion of the A. F. of L. resolution would entail consequences limiting their activities. President Legien also stated that it would be inexpedient to circulate the manifesto through the medium of the International Federation. How-

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ever, the international office was helpful in having the manifesto translated into several different languages and forwarded to A. F. of L. headquarters. The translations were sent out from the A. F. of L. headquarters with the exhortation that the National Centers take action similar to the declaration of the Seattle Convention.

Replies to the communication were received from France, Denmark, Great Britain, Austria, Sweden, Holland, South Africa, and Switzerland. The Federation of South Africa did not endorse the resolution.

The national labor movements can promote the cause of international peace by two complementary lines of action: by creating and stimulating with their own nations a public sentiment that will not tolerate waste of life, and by establishing international relations, understanding and agencies that will constitute an insuperable barrier to policies of force and destruction. With humanization, education, cultivation, the establishment of the rule of reason, occasions for wars and wars themselves will cease. The working people, the masses of the world's population, can end wars if they but have the independence to think and to give their convictions reality by daring to do.

This convention should, aye, must, adopt some constructive suggestion and take some tangible action upon this world problem which so intimately affects the workers of all countries.

From the report of the Committee on International Relations to the American Federation of Labor convention held in Philadelphia, Pa., November, 1914.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 48 and 49, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee is in full accord with the presentation of fundamental principles, the sentiment of which appeals to the higher instincts and ennobling human attributes of mankind and clearly represents labor's declaration that independence, liberty and justice for all mankind are paramount under all circumstances.

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Your committee holds and desires to give expression to the following summaries as our interpretation of the statesmanlike expression of labor's attitude upon this important question: Back of all wars of conquest is the spirit of brutality, greed and commercialism. Back of all revolutionary wars for redress of wrongs is the spirit of independence, liberty, justice and democracy. We declare against the former under all circumstances. In the second instance we emphasize the vast difference between the two kinds of wars and affirm that in the case of oppression, if the people have constitutional means of redress of wrongs and for obtaining liberty, justice and a fuller democracy, such means should be exhausted before resort to arms is justifiable. Where there are no constitutional means of redress available for the people and their destinies are governed and controlled by despotic or hereditary rulers who subordinate the interest and welfare of the toiling masses to the further enrichment of those in control of agencies of power, if the people resort to arms as the last means to obtain the inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, justice and freedom, we have no words of condemnation.

INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND WAR

From the report of the Executive Council to the American Federation of Labor convention held in San Francisco, Cal., November, 1915.

When the Executive Council made its report to the Philadelphia Convention, the European war had been in progress for several months. The horrors, the destruction and the waste of war were all so new that they were like a terrible weight on the spirits of all. The waste of human life, the brutality and the butchery, seemed so horrible as to be well-nigh impossible.

But the months that have passed have revealed the tenacity of purpose involved in the war, the grim determination to fight the struggle to some definite decision, yet every day and every month of the war have demanded their toll of human blood and human life and the suffering of those left at home.

The purpose and the method of war are a direct reversal of the purpose and the ideals of peace. Human beings are merely the agencies for carrying on war—they are the centers about which activities for peace revolve and for whom all of civilization and all of progress exist. With the beginning of hostilities, civilized life has been completely revolutionized and the affairs of life have been put upon a war basis. Those things which do not help in the destruction of the enemy or for their own protection and defense are, for the time being, neglected by the warring nations. All of science, literature, music, and art that do not have some direct bearing upon the war or conduct of war seem to have disappeared completely from the thoughts of those who are intent upon destroying the armies of the enemy. Out of all this grim and deadly hostility there have grown an intensity of feeling, racial prejudice and bitterness that make all efforts at peace impractical and futile for the present. America has maintained a policy of isolation from

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entangling alliances and has kept free from the diplomatic jugglery that has involved so many European countries in wars. Our situation and physiography have aided this purpose. It has been our most earnest desire since the beginning of this European war to maintain our country free from any dispute that would involve us with any of the warring nations and so enable us to maintain an impartial attitude that would deserve the respect and the trust of each and every nation. Through such a policy we hope to be in a position to use our national power and influence to take advantage of any opportunity to secure peace and to establish conditions of equity and justice between nations.

However, the economic ties that bind together the nations of modern civilization are so strong, so numerous and so interwoven, that the life and the affairs of any one country necessarily affect all other countries, and it is impossible for any nation to maintain isolation. The countries of the world have intimate international relations. Finances have international centers. There are common storehouses and common factories in all the nations. These ties can not be severed wholly or partially without bringing well-nigh incredible suffering upon the peoples of the countries concerned. The outbreak of the war interfered with many of the industries and occupations of Europe. These peoples became increasingly dependent upon the store and resources of the United States and other countries. As a result, our foreign commerce was completely changed in character. The products that we sent abroad had to be adjusted to meet new demands and new needs. This necessitated change and readjustment in the industries of the United States. We found that we were unable to obtain many things for which we had depended upon European countries.

This period of readjustment in the winter of 1914 meant to the wage-earners of the United States unemployment for many and all of the evil consequences of unemployment. But with the readjustment there came to many industries great opportunities for the sale of their products abroad, opportunities to produce the things that were necessary to supply the needs of the warring nations. As our country had maintained a policy of political neutrality, it was necessary also to maintain a policy of commercial neutrality and

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the products of our factories and our fields were open to purchase by the buyers of any nation. The fortunes of war made commercial intercourse with our country easier for some nations than for others. The nature, the extent and the direction of our commerce have almost completely changed during the months that the war has been in progress.

It was necessary for the protection of American citizens to continue our foreign commerce. There has developed in this country and in some other countries a conscience that is extremely sensitive to the effects of our foreign commerce. According to this concept, commerce that supplies nations with certain products becomes, in some degree at least, responsible for the war itself and for the loss of life. Those who have this conviction feel that an embargo should be put upon such products, and that all trade should be forbidden in these things which enable Europe to continue the struggle.

But these persons do not consider fully the disastrous effect upon the workers of our country as well as upon all of the citizens that would come from such a restriction and discrimination of trade which would result in closing so many industries and would quickly reduce thousands of men, women and children of our country to starvation. There is no middle ground, for it is impossible to distinguish between munitions of war and the ordinary articles of commerce. Cotton, automobile trucks, horses, mules, are normal and necessary agencies for the cultivation of peace—they are also necessary agencies in carrying on war. Should we make any attempt to differentiate we would be involved in an interminable dispute over the possible purpose to which materials can be put. All nations are now turning to America as the great producer of food, clothing, and the necessities of existence.

Although it is recognized that these supplies from America do in a sense enable the foreign countries to carry on the war, yet it is also recognized that we have no right as a nation to interfere with the right of any other nation to determine in what manner it shall uphold its demands for justice. So long as nations are free and independent, so long as they shall maintain national self-respect, they must have the right to determine as they deem best the things

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which affect them directly and intimately. As Americans we believe fully in freedom. If nations are to remain free they can not be forced or coerced by other nations, even in the matter of peace.

There are evils and horrors which result from war, but there are also evils and horrors that result from a despotism that denies people and nations freedom to work out their own best welfare according to their own highest ideals. We respect neither an individual nor a nation who forgets his or its rights merely for the sake of maintaining peace. Individuals or nations who consciously permit a right to be denied establish a precedent of injustice that affects all others. We do not condemn individuals or nations that have fought nobly for ideals and for rights. On the contrary, we glory in their courage and in their convictions and in the noble fight they have made. Had our forefathers preferred peace to justice, we would not now have the ideals and the institutions of freedom that exist. So now in our attitude toward European nations and the European war we must have in mind justice for America's citizens as well as our desire to restore peace.

Peace can not be restored until the Europeon nations are willing. There have been in the last year sentiments and movements for peace that have been powerful to the ultimate realization of that purpose. Some of these movements have been genuine, others have been created by individuals and interests that were really unneutral. These movements have taken various forms; some have tried to influence the policies of the state and governmental authorities of our country; others have tried to work upon public opinion and still others have sought to use the good name of our labor movement to further the interests of some foreign country. But all of these efforts have thus far been futile. The citizens of our country, including all of the workingmen, are too genuinely patriotic, liberty-loving and humane to permit themselves to be used by any such agency. The efforts to use the workingmen of our country have been of two kinds: one to get through them the endorsement of the foreign policy to place an embargo upon so-called "munitions of war"; the other has been to stir up industrial contentions and disputes and thus interfere with the actual process of production so that products to be sent abroad may be stopped.

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Foreign agencies have been trying to reach corruptly some of the organizations of the workers, but they have not succeeded. There is nothing touching the industrial and commercial life of America that is not of interest to the warring nations. They have sought all angles of control but everywhere they have found a spirit of faithfulness in America, a spirit of unity and solidarity among the workers that impelled them indignantly and decisively to reject such offers after their real nature was made clear.

Labor's Proposed Peace Congress

The Philadelphia Convention adopted a resolution favoring the holding of a labor conference at the same time and place that a general congress should be held at the close of the present European war in order to determine conditions and terms of peace. The resolution instructed the E. C. to hold itself in readiness to call to such a meeting representatives of the organized labor movements of the various nations. It was thought that such a conference would have great weight in urging and presenting the welfare of humanity and in determining the nature of the decisions of the world congress.

This proposal was submitted to the various organized labor movements of other countries and they were asked to communicate their opinions in regard to the plan. So far we have had replies expressing approval from the French national movement, from the secretary of the Trades Hall Council of Melbourne and from the South African Industrial Federation; from Germany came an opinion that such a plan was impracticable. Of course it is impossible to know whether the communication containing the section of the E. C. report upon international war and peace and the resolution adopted by the Philadelphia Convention ever reached many of the labor headquarters. Attention is here called to the correspondence published in the current issue of the *American Federationist*, and upon which we amplify under the caption, "International Federation of Trade Unions." That correspondence must also be considered in connection with the subject now under consideration.

Previous peace congresses of this nature have been more concerned with political schemes and the aggrandizement of individual nations, the maintenance of spheres of

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influences, than they have been with human welfare, democracy and the rights of the people. The organized labor movement of the world represents the cause of humanity. There is no agency more capable or more fit to present and urge the claims of the people than the organized labor movements of the various countries. Ordinarily representatives in these great political congresses are not chosen by the people or as representative of the interest of the people, but they are chosen from among statesmen, politicians and those who represent great material interests. There is no assurance that the members of this next congress that must be held will be chosen in any different manner. Therefore, the holding of a Labor congress becomes necessary in order to infuse the spirit of humanity and democracy into this political conference.

The congress will afford a tremendous opportunity, for many nations are involved in the war, practically all of the eastern hemisphere. There may be presented an opportunity tending to democratize the countries and the institutions of Europe politically, and to determine the spirit and the kind of relations that are to prevail between the peoples thereof in the future. This is an opportunity for which America is peculiarly fitted. Our country stands as the land of freedom, the land of democracy. Our ideals have been an inspiration to the people of all lands and have induced many to make the struggle for freedom. Freedom is our ideal because we value human life, because we have the conception of the possibilities into which men and women may grow. The people of all countries have turned to our shores for inspiration and for hope. Millions have sought refuge here; others sought opportunity. This congress may enable our country to make our ideals the ideals of the whole world. To be sure, we have not been able to realize our ideals fully, but the great value of America has been that she has given the world a tremendous inspiration. It may be in this congress we can come nearer to making that ideal a reality in the lives of the people of the whole world. It is because of this great opportunity we have been especially desirous that America and her citizens shall avoid any relations that may in the future interfere with our effectiveness in acting as a disinterested mediator and conciliator.

The war is so tremendous, the struggle so intense, the

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chances so uncertain, that it is impossible to tell at what time peace may come and peace proceedings be inaugurated. For that reason it was felt that the E. C. ought to agree upon some tentative plan for the rapid assemblage of a labor conference. This is particularly necessary inasmuch as the organized labor movements of the fighting countries are necessarily somewhat demoralized through the war; their finances are depleted and they have not the means nor the facilities to obtain immediate and authentic information in regard to the political movements of the various countries. For these reasons, it is necessary that some general agreed upon plan shall be made public in these various countries. Of course, there will be bitterness engendered from the experiences and the results of the war, but the workers everywhere will have to lay aside their personal prejudices and even emotions that are closely related with their ideals, in order to coöperate for the mutual welfare and common betterment of humanity. As members of a great world society all of the interests of our lives are very closely entwined, and we can not, even if we desire, maintain our interests isolated. Either we must be united for our common advancement and our common protection or we will be defenseless against the plans and manipulations of the agents and representatives of the great interests, for it may be depended upon that these interests will coöperate for their own aggrandizement; that they will not allow individual feelings to interfere with their ultimate purposes.

Purposes of Labor's Peace Congress

A conference such as we proposed must be approached by representatives of Labor of the world with full consciousness of common interest and all methods necessary to attain those interests. There must be so keen an appreciation of the great things and the important things that the ephemeral and the personal may not interfere with the coöperation necessary to establish greater ideals.

The nations engaged in the war have the right to determine their own policies, and the American labor movement does not propose any interference with this right of each nation. The war was caused by conditions and influences for which we are not responsible and the beginning of which it is not now our mission to discuss. Any effort

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on the part of our country to intervene now would be interpreted as partisan and hence a violation of neutrality. Only by holding aloof from all movements, however well intentioned, until the right time to influence our government to interfere, can the labor movement be in a position to be most helpful in the constructive work of preparing regulations for international adjustments. The matters with which we are mainly concerned and which it is our duty to help determine, are those things which have to do with reorganization at the close of the war and the establishment of agencies to maintain international justice and therefore permanent peace between nations.

During the previous history of the world, international relations have been left as the field for professional diplomats and politicians. As a result this field has not been organized and there are few permanent agencies for dealing justly, comprehensively and humanely with international questions and rights. There exists, however, what may constitute a nucleus for developing permanent institutions. This nucleus consists of The Hague Tribunal and that indefinite mass of international customs known as international law.

Suggestions have been made to these embryonic institutions to further develop into a more comprehensive provision for influencing international relations.

However, there has been no effort to democratize these institutions and to make them directly responsible to the peoples of the various nations concerned.

The demand for democratic control and democratic organization of international agencies and international methods must come from the people, for it is hardly probable that diplomats and statesmen will voluntarily propose to share their power and authority with the masses of the people; and yet it is the masses of the people who suffer most grievously from wars and who must bear the brunt of war both during the time of fighting and in the period of readjustment that follows cessation of warfare.

Not only has there been little or no effort to democratize international relations, but very little consideration has been given to democratizing the foreign policies of countries. The latter problem must be worked out by each nation, but would follow naturally from the establishment of the rule of the people in international affairs. The matters that will

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be considered by any general Peace Congress called at the end of the present European war will be of vast importance in determining future policies and the directions of development for decades, aye, perhaps for all time.

At all previous congresses of this type the matters considered have been purely political and have been determined from the viewpoint of professional diplomacy which is concerned with statescraft rather than with the larger problems of national statesmanship and the general welfare of the masses of the people. Since the welfare of the wage-earners of all nations is largely affected by international regulations, in all justice it should be given primary consideration in the deliberations of a World Peace Congress.

Just as the wage-workers of each country have by insistent demands forced their political agents to consider matters affecting their welfare, and have forced national recognition of the principle that the well-being of the people that constitute the nation is a matter of fundamental importance to the nation, so the wage-workers of the various nations must insist that there shall be established as an international principle that the welfare of human beings is of the greatest importance in international relations and intercourse. In whatever provisions are made for international political agencies, the labor movements must present the demands of the people that these agents must be responsible to them.

No doubt propositions concerned with international industrial and commercial undertakings will be considered by the Peace Congress. It will devolve upon the representatives of the wage-earners to present and to demand recognition for the human element concerned in such agreements. It has been altogether too common for such problems to be considered only from the purely commercial and private profit standpoint. Consideration of the human side will result only from the self-interest and the altruism of the wage-earners themselves. Any effective effort along this line will necessitate a more thorough international organization of the labor movements of the various countries. Experience has demonstrated that the success of the labor movement of each country has been directly proportionate to its success in economic organization, so success in maintaining the interests of the wage-earners and international

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relations will depend upon the kind and nature of our international organization.

It is impossible to plan in advance for all questions that may come up for consideration. The delegates must use discretion and judgment guided by the fundamental principle that human welfare must have the greatest consideration.

Suggested Plans for the Congress

There are various difficulties that arise in making a plan to convene the proposed conference. Not all the organized labor movements of the world belong to the International Federation of Trade Unions, and not all countries have national centers or federated labor movements, consequently any regulation for representation in such a congress must have considerable flexibility.

This perhaps would be a workable plan:

Let every national center affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions send not more than two delegates to the conference.

The labor movement of any country, even though not affiliated, could send one delegate.

If there is no one general movement in a country, let the representatives of the organizations of that country agree to send one delegate. It happens that many of the European countries consist of several nations, which have their separate national labor organizations.

The wage-earners of many countries have not yet effected national organization. It would be extremely difficult to get in touch with the responsible officials of these labor movements as quickly as might be necessary in order for them to send representatives to the proposed labor conference. It is necessary then to make provisions for the representation of such countries in some other than purely formal methods.

It is suggested, in addition to the formal invitations sent to labor centers, that publicity be given to these invitations through the press, and that the notice of the time and place of holding the conference shall constitute in itself an invitation to participate in that conference through authorized representatives. In the meantime until then if there be time the E. C. of the American Federation of

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Labor be authorized and empowered to extend formal invitations and issue the call in the name of the A. F. of L., and at the earliest possible moment after action has been taken by this convention.

In view of the fact that peace when it comes will probably come very quickly and there will be comparatively little time for making provisions for the labor conference and for circulating information in regard to that conference, it might be well to prepare in advance a circular to be sent to national centers, national labor movements, and to be circulated by the labor press of the world generally in order that a more complete representation may be obtained. Then it should also be understood that representatives to this congress must be either officials or duly accredited representatives of economic organizations of wage-earners. No representatives of political organizations, of philanthropic associations, or any other sort of an organization except a bona fide labor organization, shall be admitted as members of the conference.

The delegates to this international conference before leaving their home countries should make provisions for publicity through the labor press of their countries for the deliberations and the decisions of the labor conference so that the wage-earners of the whole world would be in possession of the truth in regard to what transpires.

In order that the position of the workers of the United States in regard to international peace and war may be fully representative and carry with it the weight of the unanimous voice of Labor of the country, we recommend that all International Trade Unions be urged to give their endorsement and pledge their coöperation to the program and plan outlined by this convention for the holding of a World's Labor Conference.

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From the report of the Committee on International Relations to the American Federation of Labor convention held in San Francisco, Cal., November, 1915.

On that portion of the Executive Council's report under the caption of International Peace and War, we are in full accord and take pleasure in so reporting. We have taken note of and fully indorse the statement that the "horrors, the destruction and the waste of war were all so new that they were like a terrible weight on the spirits of all. The waste of human life, the brutality and the butchery seemed so horrible as to be well nigh impossible"; and again with the further statement: "It is then our most earnest desire since the beginning of this European war to maintain our country free from any dispute that would involve us with any of the warring nations, and so enable us to maintain an impartial attitude that would deserve the respect and the trust of each and every nation"; and further and more particularly with the following statement: "There is no middle ground, for it is impossible to distinguish between munitions of war and the ordinary articles of commerce. . . . So long as nations are free and independent, so long as they shall maintain national self-respect, they must have the right to determine as they seem best the things which affect them directly and intimately. As Americans we believe fully in freedom. If nations are to remain free, they cannot be forced or coerced by other nations even in the matter of peace"; and finally: "Had our forefathers preferred peace to justice, we would not now have the ideals and the institutions of freedom that exist; so now in our attitude toward European nations and the European war we must have in mind justice for American citizens as well as our desire to restore peace."

We are fully in accord and agree with the sentiments expressed. We hold America has the right to carry forward its normal or extraordinary activities, industrial, political or otherwise, so long as we do not violate any rule of humanity or fundamental rule of strict neutrality. We stand for justice and right rather than for peace at any price, we want peace, we shall work for peace, and hope finally to attain it. We agree with and commend the sayings, acts

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and attitude of President Gompers which in their wise application have done much to safeguard and protect the honor and best interests of the American labor movement and all America. Fearlessly, freely and boldly expressed, his guidance has received the warmest endorsement of our nation and has been a potential factor in the national policy that has kept us out of the spineless class, yet free from entanglement in the cataclysm now devastating Europe.

Labor's Peace Conference

We are in full accord with the plan suggested by the Executive Council as outlined in its report, and fully concur in the suggested arrangements for holding such conference. While we reaffirm the action taken by the Philadelphia convention, we hold the Executive Council should again be instructed to make all arrangements for holding the anticipated conference, and further that the Executive Council be and is hereby authorized to select the President of the American Federation of Labor and one other to represent the A. F. of L. in such conference.

The A. F. of L., the American trade union center, because of its strict neutrality, isolation and distance from the seat of trouble, its freedom from race bitterness, hatred and passion, is eminently qualified to lead in the effort which portends so much and is so important for the future well-being of the trade union movement, human life, liberty, justice and a broader democracy for all mankind.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

From the report of the Executive Council to the American Federation of Labor Convention held in Baltimore, Md., November, 1916.

In our report to the San Francisco Convention we suggested a practical plan for the holding of a World Labor Congress at the same time and place as the World Peace Congress shall be held at the close of the present European war. The plan was suggested in accord with the direction of the Philadelphia Convention, which had adopted the suggestion that such a labor congress ought to be held, and directed that a practical plan be suggested to the next convention.

The plan which we recommended to the San Francisco Convention was adopted by that convention and we were instructed to make all arrangements for holding the proposed conference. The convention authorized us to send as representatives of the American Federation of Labor to that Congress the president and one other representative of our Federation.

In order to carry out the instructions of the convention, we had prepared a statement setting forth the purposes of the World Labor Congress and the tentative plan for the congress which had been endorsed by the San Francisco Convention. This statement was to be in the form of a circular letter addressed to the organized labor movements of all countries. It was printed in English and translated into French, German, and Spanish, and sent, in these various languages, to the organized labor movements of all countries for which we had secured the names and addresses of officers. Despite the strict censorship maintained in all belligerent countries, we have reason to believe that this letter was generally allowed to pass the censors. During the course of the year many letters of inquiry and approval were received from various countries, and in our own country the

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proposed congress aroused general interest and met with enthusiastic approval. The influence which a representative group of workers of the world could wield in such a congress was appreciated by all those who had an understanding of the definite progress that the world has been making toward democracy and toward an understanding of human rights and human freedom. Somehow thinking people have been catching the meaning of democracy; they have come to realize that it means that the people—all of the people—have a right to do things for themselves; that they need no longer to look up to others to do things for them, not even the things that pertain to government and international relations. Every worker, because he is a human being, has a right to a place in the world; a right to a voice in determining his life and the conditions under which he shall live, and a right to an opportunity to have his ideas and welfare considered before national issues are determined. It was the old thought that workers knew nothing about problems and issues; that they were to work for others and do nothing else; that the big things in life, that the fundamental principles determining affairs, should be decided by others—those of another class. As the workers have gained in economic power they have been able to justify their position, that they, the great masses of the people of America, had a right to determine all of their own affairs, and that the affairs governing organization of society were just as much theirs as they were the politicians' or the statesmen's or the employing or property holding classes'. Tradition has given power of determination to these classes; their purposes and policies were primarily influenced by their personal interests and the desire to maintain control for their own classes because that insured the present organization of society. The guiding concept of the wage-earners is the paramount importance of the human being. According to this understanding of life everything else—land, property, influence—must be subordinated to human welfare and made to serve the people. This concept will never be made the controlling concept of society except through the will and action of the workers themselves.

It was this understanding and this purpose that lay back of the proposal made by the A. F. of L. to hold a World Labor Congress, by setting standards, presenting ideals and

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bringing these matters before the World Peace Congress and the people of all of the nations in such a way that they could not be ignored. In this way the wage-earners would have a part in giving a high tone to the World Peace Congress and in setting standards below which they would not dare to fall.

We regret to report that the proposal of the A. F. of L. to hold an International Labor Conference at the time and place when the representatives of the governments of the various countries shall meet for the purpose of determining conditions of peace and entering into a treaty was not approved by the organized labor movement of Great Britain. This action, together with the statement of President Legien of the Federation of Trade Unions of Germany that such a movement would be of doubtful practicability, necessarily requires that our proposition be abandoned.

When information of this official rejection of the plan adopted by the San Francisco Convention reached this country, because of the tremendous importance of the plan and of the infinite and boundless influence that a representation of wage-earners could have upon the deliberations of the World Peace Congress, the following suggestion was considered by us and adopted:

Since the first proposal submitted by the A. F. of L. to the labor organizations of Europe has been definitely rejected by them, we suggest that the organized labor movements of those countries that shall participate in the general peace conference to determine terms and conditions of peace at the close of the war, shall urge upon their respective governments that the wage-earners shall be represented in an official commission from their respective countries. The same policy ought to be pursued also by organized labor movements of neutral countries if it shall be determined that neutral countries also will participate in the general peace congress.

Thus representatives of wage-earners would be seated with other representatives of the nations in general conferences connected with the formulation of peace terms. In this way the ideals and needs of wage-earners would be presented and considered by the general official body.

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From the supplemental report of the Executive Council to the American Federation of Labor Convention held in Baltimore, Md., November, 1916:

Baltimore, Nov. 16, 1916.

To the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Greeting:

Since our report was prepared and in printed form an important communication has been received that ought to be considered by this convention in connection with that subject. The following is a letter from Carl Legien, President of the Federation of Trade Unions in Germany:

International Federation of Trade Unions.

Berlin, October 4, 1916.

To the American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.
Dear Comrades:

Incidents which appear apt to break up the organization of the International Federation of Trade Unions render it expedient to summon an International Trade Union Conference during the time of war.

The conference is to take place at Berne (Switzerland) on December 11, 1916. The agenda will comprise decision regarding:

1. The continuation of the International Federation of Trade Unions.
2. The publication of the *International News Letter*.
3. Miscellaneous proposals.

According to the rules (resolutions of the conferences of Budapest, 1911, and Zurich, 1913), each national center is not allowed to send more than two delegates to the international conference.

The necessity of the conference is apparent from the following:

On July 5th of the current year a trade union conference sat at Leeds, England, at which the *Confederation Generale*

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du Travail and the General Federation of Trade Unions were officially represented by their secretaries. Besides, there were present representatives from Belgium and two representatives of a trade union organization in Italy not affiliated to the Confederazione Generale del Lavoro, but recognized by the conference as representing the trade unions of Italy.

The international trade union organization known as the International Federation of Trade Unions continues to exist even if, at present, it can only execute the tasks entrusted to it in a limited way. As long as the war ravages the European countries, exterminates the masses and internationally separates labor, it is the office of the International Federation of Trade Unions to safeguard the unity without, so that it may resume more easily its former manner of activity and be developed to a greater degree.

The Amsterdam branch office makes it possible for all national sections which—owing to the war—could not communicate with the central office of the International Federation of Trade Unions to maintain the connection without getting into conflict with the interests of their own country. Each national center ought to have refrained, therefore, from holding special conferences. Neither the national centers of the neutral countries nor those of the Central Powers has ever attempted or even suggested anything of the kind. Their exchange of correspondence with the International Federation of Trade Unions was exactly the same as that conducted with the Entente Powers via Amsterdam, although the desire for discussion existed here just as much as there.

Not only did such discussions take place at the Leeds conference, but resolutions were passed the carrying out of which would be identical to the establishing of a new international organization for the four countries named. A correspondence bureau is to be erected in Paris, which is to be headed by a council of delegates of the affiliated countries. The secretary of the Confederation Generale du Travail was, besides, commissioned with preparing a new conference of trade unions of the allied countries.

Thus the organization of the International Federation of Trade Unions has been violated. The affiliated national organizations must be given the opportunity of deciding in

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regard to the continuation of the International Federation of Trade Unions and its further activity. This can only be done at a conference at which all national centers affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions can be represented. For that reason Berne has, after consulting the Swiss trade unions, been decided on as the place of meeting and the date put off until the middle of December.

The difficulties in the way of sending delegates to and holding an international trade union conference are obvious. The matter, however, cannot be settled in any other way, if the trade union is not to be paralyzed completely for years to come. Once before, in June, 1915, the majority of the national centers decided by letter that no change was to take place regarding the International Federation of Trade Unions until the conclusion of the war. It will not be possible now to consult the opinion of the national organization by letter, because after the sitting of the Leeds conference the question at issue is not the removal of the headquarters of the International Federation of Trade Unions, but the continuation of the trade union international and the form it is going to take in the future. Under these circumstances the difficulties in the way of an international conference must be overcome and the unpleasantness connected with the representation question endured. We trust, therefore, that all national centers desirous of preventing the international separation of the trade unions will send representatives to the conference. With fraternal greetings,

(Signed)

C. LEGIEN.

President Gompers wrote to Mr. Legien acknowledging receipt of his communication and stating that it would be submitted to this convention. On November 11, the following cablegram later was received:

"Kjoebenhavn (Copenhagen).

"Mr. Samuel Gompers,

"American Federation of Labor,

"Washington, D. C.

"International Trade Union Conference at Berne, Switzerland, 11th of December, canceled until other information is given. Letter follows.

LEGIEN."

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We ought to call the attention of the delegates to the action of the American Federation of Labor approving the proposal submitted by the Federation Generale du Travail de France to move the international office to Switzerland. The American Federation of Labor then submitted that in the event of war between groups of countries the labor movements of which are affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions the headquarters should be automatically neutralized and the affairs of the international labor movement protected against the charge or the appearance of partisanship.

The American labor movement has refused to consider or to suggest any other international proposition concerned with the labor matters during the war. The proposition considered by the Philadelphia and San Francisco conventions was to give the workers an opportunity to find means for presenting the immense human interests affected by international relations at the time when, after the war, steps were being taken for reconstruction and for giving direction, tone and purpose to future development.

We have been appalled by the human suffering, the physical and mental agony and the loss and waste of human life in the European war and we earnestly desire to prevent the recurrence of such a horror. That purpose cannot be achieved unless constructive measures are devised to accomplish it.

The domain of international relations is yet in chaotic condition. There exists a vague mass of customs known as international law and the beginnings of international morality. However, there has been little or no effort to organize this domain for peace and for constructive work. Public opinion has been educated far in advance of the development of agencies through which it must operate.

The important thing is to take steps in the right direction, when peace brings opportunity. This thought has been uppermost in the minds of humanitarian men, many of whom have banded together and formulated definite programs.

In order that the wage-workers of America may be ready to participate in the field of international affairs, it is necessary for us to consider various tentative suggestions and to determine upon a definite program promoting labor's interests.

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The various proposals for the organization of international relations disclose that the field and its problems are analogous to those of relations between individuals—a domain that is now systematically regulated by the governments of the various states. Some of the same principles will apply to the larger domain between nations.

We submit that there ought to be a voluntary union of nations, a league for peace to adjust disputes and difficulties, and to take the initiative in constructive efforts to direct and facilitate world progress in accord with highest concepts.

Among the suggestions usually made for maintaining peace is arbitration. Arbitration has been so generally discussed that it is not necessary at this time for us to consider its purposes and functions. However, it has been generally conceded that arbitration has an exceedingly important field of service within definite limitations. Arbitration can be effective only in the adjustment of differences, and thus is limited to justiciable matters. We suggest, therefore, that it is not suited to adjust difficulties that are most likely to threaten peace between countries, and it cannot deal constructively with elements and conditions in their making, which, when further developed, would inevitably result in friction, misunderstanding or the use of force.

There is nothing novel or untried in the first proposition. Arbitration treaties exist between practically all civilized countries. Between some, as the United States and Canada, permanent courts have been established to adjudicate differences. To apply this principle to world relations would necessitate a permanent agency, to which would be submitted all justiciable differences arising between signatory nations and not susceptible of other adjustment. Would not a permanent world judicial tribunal, composed of jurists and those familiar with international law, with jurisdiction over judicial questions concerning members of the league, be a fitting agency to perform this work?

In international, judicial and justiciable matters there are a large number of problems susceptible to mediation and administrative action. For these we suggest a second agency adapted to deal with matters of an entirely different nature, such as economic issues and the affairs concerned in the daily life and work of the citizens of the nations. Such a commission should be composed of men in close touch with

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industrial and commercial forces in action, not those who from a viewpoint remote from the political and industrial struggle look down upon the activity of the people and the creative forces hewing out the destiny of the nations. The real interests, needs and ideals of the people would be best represented by selecting for this commission journalists, publicists, scientists, professional men, men of affairs, wage-earners—those in close touch with the heart of the nations, through their work, whether as organizers of the processes of production and commerce or as the human agents necessary for the utilization of material resources.

Fundamentally, would not the creation of this commission for hearing, considering and recommending as to the infinite variety of interests arising between nations make for the organization of the field forces of diplomacy? By democratizing the commission and appointing to it those representatives of the rank and file of nations and their varied interests, the light of publicity would be turned upon secret diplomacy and its agents would be rendered more responsive to the will of the people.

Old style diplomacy here failed. The traditional diplomat regarded his service as an art detached from the crude struggle for an existence and was unmindful or ignorant of the human interests involved in machinations of diplomacy. Diplomacy must be made more open, more honest, more effective if our civilization is not to be brought into question and jeopardy.

We suggest consideration of means to make the purpose of the League for Peace effective. Would not those nations that band themselves together in a league for peace need to agree upon means for securing compliance with regulations and for the use of force against a signatory nation which might go to war or engage in hostilities against another member of the league without having submitted its grievances in the proper way provided by the agreement? Joint use of both economic and military forces of signatory nations could be directed against the offending nation.

In order to render international law more tangible and better adapted to the problems with which it must deal would it not be well to provide for conferences of nations to meet at definite times to formulate and codify international law?

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The suggestions which we submit are to be considered as a general foundation for organization for peace between nations, and would help to avert unnecessary wars. We do not declare that it would abolish war—but by mediating the causes of war, war becomes less probable.

We submit for consideration whether each separate nation ought not to maintain its separate agencies for compulsion, with the assurance to each of sovereignty and necessary authority to determine matters of a distinctively national character? Collective action by a league of nations ought not to dictate the limitation or the regulation of military and naval equipment, but it can properly prevent the use of such force for national aggrandizement and for exploitation of the small countries. We deplore militarism, but the fight against militarism must ultimately be made by the citizens of the different nations. Establishing methods and agencies which render display of military and naval power no longer effective is the practical and direct way to abolish rivalry between nations in standing armies and naval equipment.

The way to prevent war is to organize for peace. The working people of all countries are vitally interested in the maintenance of world peace. We feel that in addition to expressing our desire we ought to consider constructive suggestions.

We are keenly conscious that institutions and regulations alone are not sufficient. These are only the agencies. Back of them must be an international mind and conscience educated to demand the democratization and humanization of our common affairs. The labor movements of all countries have contributed much to the will for peace and justice, and must do their part in the development of the agencies by which their will can be expressed.

We suggest that the Executive Council be authorized to continue its efforts in behalf of an international labor conference after the war, with instructions to have the American Federation of Labor represented in that conference. No one can foretell what eventuality may occur in the war; perhaps it may end before our 1917 convention. Therefore, the Executive Council ought to be in a position

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to take action to carry out labor's purpose and to protect its interests.

Fraternally submitted,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
JAMES DUNCAN,
JAMES O'CONNELL,
D. A. HAYES,
JOSEPH F. VALENTINE,
JOHN R. ALPINE,
H. B. PERHAM,
FRANK DUFFY,
WILLIAM GREEN,
FRANK MORRISON,
JOHN B. LENNON,

Executive Council American Federation of Labor.

From the report of the Committee on International Relations to the American Federation of Labor convention held in Baltimore, Md., November, 1916.

Your committee desires to reiterate, that you may reaffirm, the expressions and declarations of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor on the questions of war and its causes as follows:

Back of all wars of conquest is the spirit of brutality, greed and commercialism and back of all revolutionary wars for redress of wrongs is the spirit of independence, liberty, justice and democracy. We declare against the former under all circumstances and in the second instance we have no words of condemnation, and that your committee feels the American Federation of Labor through this convention can serve the best interests of all our fellow-workers regardless of where located and, moreover, those of our trade union movement by maintaining strict neutrality under existing circumstances.

We again repeat and express that fraternal spirit and world-wide sympathy and kindly regard for the welfare of our fellow-workers regardless of where located or of nationality.

While words cannot express the horror we feel over the

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terrible conflict now devastating Europe and by which so many human souls are being dropped into the vortex of eternity, we express the judgment that unless a larger measure of human liberty, justice and democracy shall come to the toiling masses, the frightful sacrifice has been and will be in vain.

Let us here express the hope that, while regretting the existence of the world war, since it has been inaugurated, its end will usher in an era which shall witness the establishment of a better understanding of labor's viewpoint and better economic, social and political conditions for all the workers, and finally that from the ashes of destruction and the carnage of conflict there shall be merged a new spirit, a new courage and the determination upon the part of labor to obtain and hold a fuller democracy which shall safeguard, protect and advance the liberties and material interests of the masses. While civilization has wandered far from the ideals of humanity and a brutalizing madness is temporarily enthroned in this war, we are neither pessimists nor necessarily pacifists. We express the judgment that first the war cannot and will not crush the hopes and aspirations and activities of organized labor, and that secondly the trade union movement will be a potential force in establishing and maintaining more permanent peace upon a foundation which will maintain greater justice and human liberty and finally stand as a bulwark of strength against wars of conquest waged in the interest of commercialism, kings, potentates and an oligarchy of arrogant autocracy grounded upon finance and commercialism.

[*World Labor Congress.*]

We note with extreme regret the failure of certain European labor movements to accept the invitation and plan adopted by the San Francisco Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and submitted to all labor centers of all the countries to participate in a World Labor Congress at the same time and place as the World's Peace Congress shall be held at the close of the present European war.

The present confusion and chaotic conditions of the world's trade union movement justify the wisdom of the proposition made and adopted at the San Francisco 1915

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Convention of the American Federation of Labor, wherein we suggested that in times of stress, and when the normal functions and activities of the International Federation of Trade Unions should be interrupted for any cause, the office of the President should automatically revert to some neutral country. Had this been agreed to we would not now be facing the danger of a disruption of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

We cannot, and we do not, condemn the action of any federated center. We realize that they are influenced by extremely abnormal conditions, and that they are controlled by national and racial passions engendered by this war that are now at white heat; that their actions are not necessarily the sober second thought and judgment which might, and undoubtedly would, be expressed under normal living conditions.

We are keenly mindful of the fact that it is extremely difficult for us to get information to the labor movements of certain countries, and more difficult for such movements to get the true information to us. All communications are held up and censored, hence judgment should be stayed, and conclusions reached only after we are in possession of the absolute facts.

While we are forced to abandon the original proposition to hold a World Labor Congress at the time and place of the World's Peace Congress to be held at the close of the war, while reaffirming the judgment which prompted the adoption of such a proposition, yet in the event of the failure to hold a congress such as proposed we concur with the Executive Council that some action should be taken and the necessary machinery adopted to carry forward the purposes and intent of such a congress and recommend that the Executive Council be authorized to continue efforts to bring about a conference after the war in which the organized labor movement of all countries affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions may participate, and that the Executive Council be instructed to have the American Federation of Labor represented in that conference, as directed by the San Francisco Convention.

From the results of the correspondence, as well as the conferences had between the representatives of the labor movement of the various European countries and some of

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the officers of the American Federation of Labor, it is not now determined whether the national conference proposed by the American Federation of Labor can be held, and yet we do not believe that the American Federation of Labor should entirely abandon the proposal. In any event we recommend that further effort be made to clear away the misapprehensions or whatever there may be of groundless opposition to the conference; that at all events we urge that the labor movements of the various countries should insist upon representation by men of organized labor movement in the treaty-making congress in which the terms of peace and the future conduct of the nations shall be determined.

We hold that the voice of labor should be heard in the official congress of the nations and in the conferences of organized labor and that the Executive Council is authorized to carry both or either of these propositions into effect.

From the report of the Committee on International Relations on the supplementary report of the Executive Council to the American Federation of Labor convention held in Baltimore, Md., November, 1916.

We concur in the opinion expressed by the Executive Council that it is necessary to organize for peace in order to prevent unnecessary wars, wars for commercial and political exploitation or aggrandizement and unreservedly recommend for your adoption the constructive plan for that purpose outlined in the supplementary report of the Executive Council on International Relations.

Experience and history do not warrant us in believing that any plan will wholly abolish war, nor do we think that any nation can ever wholly relinquish the right to wage war. The right to oppose wrong and injustice is essential to the maintenance of the spirit and the purposes of ideals and institutions of freedom. Yet, while preserving our right to oppose any infringement of our rights and to protect our freedom, we hold that these can best be safeguarded by establishing institutions for dealing with relations between nations and thereby organizing that field for peace.

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We believe that through permanent institutions, mediation, conciliation and by directing forces and conditions as they develop, the causes of wars and wars themselves may be prevented.

We appreciate the fact that peace is essential to the highest development of civilization and that it is earnestly desired by all right thinking people. But desire for peace is not in itself sufficient. There must be will for peace, together with agencies for making that will effective in the affairs of nations. There must be voluntary associated effort to establish justice so that there may be an honorable basis for permanent peace.

It is a purpose so valuable that it is worthy of our best thought and most intelligent efforts. The organized labor movement must present constructive suggestions if their concepts are to be considered while international institutions are in the making.

Therefore, we recommend for adoption the fundamentals contained in the report of the Executive Council as basis for an international organization for promoting justice between nations to the end that wars may be averted and human and national rights and freedom maintained.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

From the Executive Council's report to Buffalo Convention, November, 1917:

There has been practically no constructive development since the report to the Baltimore Convention on this subject. As was reported to that convention, there was, at that time, under consideration a meeting of the International Federation of Trade Unions to be held in Berne, Switzerland, some time in December, 1916. The authorized representatives of the various trade union centers did not indorse this proposal and the conference was not held. Later in the year an effort was made to revive this project for holding a conference at Berne, Switzerland, but that also was not successful. For the convenience of the delegates to this convention as well as for the assistance of committees dealing with this particular subject, the correspondence upon this matter, as well as upon all other matters affecting international labor relations, is published in the November, 1917, *American Federationist*.

The announcement of the overthrow of despotism in Russia and the establishment of governmental control by the people is one of the encouraging results of the terrible European conflict. The change in Russia from despotism to opportunity for freedom created a situation that was extremely critical. The advocates of freedom in Russia had had little practical experience and only opportunity for theorizing. The ardent advocates of human freedom were now made responsible for putting their theories and ideals into actual practice.

Since the overthrow of Czardom came in the midst of the European war the Russian people found themselves confronted by two gigantic problems, either of which was enough to test the mettle and ability of any nation well disciplined and well schooled in governmental activities. They

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had to develop methods and agencies for carrying on the war against the central European powers and also to devise and establish immediate provisional governmental agencies and to develop permanent constitutional institutions. All who had the best interest of Russia at heart were keenly apprehensive lest the Russian people, in their eagerness to establish freedom and their natural desire that every vestige of despotism within the country should be abolished, might be more eager to achieve these purposes than was at the time compatible with practical constructive results.

Nations with free institutions have found that the ideals of human freedom can not be established at once but that it is a matter of development following a constantly broadening ideal. Governmental agencies can only afford opportunity for freedom—people achieve freedom in their daily life.

The people of the United States, one of the oldest republics, felt keenly their responsibility to place at the disposal of the Russian people the experience that we have acquired since our declaration of freedom in 1776. No class of citizens rejoiced more deeply in the newly established freedom of Russia and felt more keenly their obligation to assist the Russian people than the workers of America.

The enforced abdication of the Czar was followed by a provisional government, which made the following declaration of principles as the basis of an appeal for support:

The new Cabinet will base its policy on the following principles:

1. An immediate general amnesty for all political and religious offenses, including terrorist acts and military and agrarian offenses.
2. Liberty of speech and of the press; freedom for alliances, unions and strikes, with the extension of these liberties to military officials, within the limits admitted by military requirements.
3. Abolition of all social, religious and national restrictions.
4. To proceed forthwith to the preparation and convocation of a constitutional assembly, based on universal suffrage, which will establish a governmental regime.

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5. The substitution of the police by a national militia with chiefs to be elected and responsible to the government.

6. Communal elections to be based on universal suffrage.

7. The troops which participated in the revolutionary movement will not be disarmed but will remain in Petrograd.

8. While maintaining strict military discipline for troops on active service, it is desirable to abrogate for soldiers all restrictions in the enjoyment of social rights accorded other citizens.

The provisional government desires to add that it has no intention to profit by the circumstances of the war to delay the realization of the measures of reform above mentioned.

The Russian revolution was, in a large degree, the results of the aspirations and the efforts of Russia's workers. It was, therefore, particularly fitting that an expression of the feeling of America's workers should be conveyed to those in charge of the revolutionary movement in Russia. Therefore, we, in the interim of conventions, as the spokesmen of the American labor movement, sent cablegrams to the revolutionary leaders of Russia.

In order to assist the Russian leaders to steady the diverse and fervid movements in Russia, which wished to direct constructive developments, the President of the United States determined to send a commission of special envoys to the Russian government. This commission was entrusted with the responsibility of conveying to the people and the revolutionary government of Russia a message of good will, hope, encouragement and support, and offering service and the experience and the methods of America in establishing and using free institutions. The Russian revolutionary government represents the will of the masses of the Russian people. That the American commission should receive the fullest confidence and trust of the revolutionary Russian government there were appointed upon the commission representatives of American workers and advocates of human freedom. In appointing the commission, President Wilson selected, among others, James Duncan, First Vice-President

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of the American Federation of Labor and President of the Granite Cutters' International Association of America. Mr. Duncan was the first representative of organized labor ever appointed on a diplomatic mission of the Government of the United States.

From several different sources suggestions were made for the holding of international labor conferences. Early in the spring it was suggested that a meeting of the International Federation of Trade Unions be held in Berne, Switzerland, to consider several matters, among which the most important were the continuance of the International Federation of Trade Unions, the publication of the Weekly News Service of the International Secretariat, and the program adopted by the Leeds Conference, which met in England in July, 1916.

The Leeds program was a declaration formulated by representatives of the labor movements of the allied countries. It contains proposals, which it was suggested labor ought to seek to have incorporated in the peace treaty that shall be drawn up at the close of the war.

It is our opinion that the Leeds program is not sufficiently constructive or comprehensive to enable the workers to take best advantage of the opportunity that will come in the Peace Congress. We feel that the Peace Congress will necessarily have to recommend some fundamental proposals for the better organization of international relations in order that in the future there may be some permanent agencies for dealing with the problems that arise in international affairs and to enable the nations to coöperate for the better management of their common interests and their individual needs.

Labor is vitally interested in the character and the scope of such proposals and can not afford to neglect the preparation of a concrete program. The Leeds program does not contain suggestions dealing with this broader problem of international organization. Many of the specific articles in the Leeds program are concerned with matters of a legislative nature, many of which in our country come under the jurisdiction of the several states and not of the federal government. For this reason alone, it would be inexpedient, so far as our country is concerned, to have these subjects included in the terms of an international peace treaty.

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The feeling aroused by the war is so intense, and the customs affecting communications between peoples of warring countries are so unfavorable, that the proposed Berne conference was not held.

When the Russian situation became very acute and the impact of external and internal forces aroused serious apprehension as to the future of that country, there was an effort among certain Russian leaders to secure an international conference of labor representatives, either in Russia or in some neutral country. Stockholm was suggested. Labor representatives, chiefly from neutral countries and from the central allied powers, went to Stockholm to carry out this purpose. However, a general conviction prevailed that the forces controlling and perhaps manipulating the proposed Stockholm conference, were really disingenuous and were in furtherance of the interests of autocracy with the hope of misleading the working people of all countries. We believe that the purposes of those directing the Stockholm movement were of such character as has been properly designated by the term, "peace aggressive."

The labor movements of the United States and Great Britain felt that they could not send representatives to Stockholm and act in good faith with their own governments and fellow citizens who were sacrificing for the cause of human justice and democracy. Therefore the American labor movement refused to send representatives. The British labor movement at first acted in accord with the suggestion of Arthur Henderson, then a member of the British Cabinet, and voted to send delegates. However, when the British government refused to issue passports to the British delegates and Lloyd George published correspondence in which it was stated that Kerensky, the head of the Russian government, did not indorse the Stockholm conference as the proposition to hold a conference came originally from Russian leaders, it was felt that the conference did not carry enough sanction to make it effective.

The French government also refused to issue passports to French delegates.

In the meanwhile the British labor party issued invitations to the labor movements of the allied and neutral countries to attend an international conference in London in August. Exchange of telegrams disclosed the fact that

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neither the labor movement of Great Britain nor of France was consulted as to whether these conferences should be held. As a consequence the fraternal delegates to the British Trade Union Congress were instructed not to attend that conference but to attend the conference called by the labor movements of the allied countries September 10 at London. This in addition to their duty to attend the British Trade Union Congress the week beginning September 3. In his cablegram President Gompers said that the American Federation of Labor was the official representative of the organized workers of America and that it could not and would not share with any political party the right to represent the workers of this country. The London conference of August 28 and 29 consisted of representatives of political movements rather than labor movements.

As the fraternal delegates of the A. F. of L. to the British Trade Union Congress would be in England at that time, the Executive Council authorized them to represent the American labor movement in the London conference. This authorization was given and the fraternal delegates, Mr. Golden and Mr. Lord, participated in the London conference. Their report will be made to this convention.

PEACE TERMS

From the report of the Executive Council to the Buffalo Convention, November, 1917:

It is an imperative duty from which there is no escape that wage-earners as well as all other citizens of this Republic support our government in its righteous effort to defend principles of humanity and to establish democracy in international relations. Because we desire permanent peace it is our duty to fight and sacrifice until these purposes can be achieved.

When nations can send representatives to negotiate peace terms in accord with this concept, we maintain that the basic provisions of the peace treaty should be formulated with regard to the rights and welfare of the men, women, and children constituting the nations rather than the governments of the nations. The government should be only

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an instrumentality of the people instead of dominating and actuating their lives. This terrific war must wipe out all vestiges of the old concept that the nation belongs to the ruler or government.

We hold that the same principles should apply to relations between nations and that secret diplomacy should be replaced by diplomatic representatives responsible to their own people and received by either the Parliament of the country to which they are accredited or by a representative of the people, responsible to them.

We made recommendation in our report to the Baltimore Convention for the organization of international relations. Existing international anarchy has invited imperialism on the part of strong governments and has furnished opportunity and occasion for war. Militarism finds its justification in international anarchy and can be abolished only when international relations are organized.

There is no element in all nations more concerned in the achievement of conditions making for permanent peace between nations than the working people, who constitute the majority of every nation. Working people have never been properly represented in diplomatic affairs. The future must be constructed upon broader lines than the past. We insist, therefore, that the government of the United States provide adequate and direct representatives of wage-earners among the plenipotentiaries sent to the Peace Congress, and urge upon the labor movements of other countries to take like action.

We urge the adoption of the following declarations as the basis upon which peace must be negotiated:

1. The combination of the free peoples of the world in a common covenant for genuine and practical coöperation to secure justice and therefore peace in relations between nations.
2. Governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed.
3. No political or economic restrictions meant to benefit some nations and to cripple or embarrass others.
4. No indemnities or reprisals based upon vindictive purposes or deliberate desire to injure, but to right manifest wrongs.
5. Recognition of the rights of small nations and of the

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principle "No people must be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live."

6. No territorial changes or adjustment of power except in furtherance of the welfare of the peoples affected and in furtherance of world peace.

In addition to these basic principles, which are based upon declarations of our President of these United States, there should be incorporated in the treaty that shall constitute the guide of nations in the new period and conditions into which we enter at the close of the war the following declarations, fundamental to the best interests of all nations and of vital importance to wage-earners:

1. No article or commodity shall be shipped or delivered in international commerce in the production of which children under the age of 16 have been employed or permitted to work.

2. It shall be declared that the basic workday in industry and commerce shall not exceed eight hours.

3. Involuntary servitude shall not exist except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.

4. Establishment of trial by jury.

The war has swept away the ante bellum world and has rendered antiquated and useless many institutions. Others have broken down under the difficulties and problems of war needs. We can benefit from our experiences by retaining that which has demonstrated its efficiency and rejecting that which has failed. Many of the problems of reconstruction can not be worked out during the war while feeling is so intense. With the coming of peace will come a different attitude of mind on the part of all. The situation and opportunities which peace will bring will be without precedent. It is of paramount importance that Labor shall be free and unembarrassed in helping to shape the principles and agencies for the future.

We suggest therefore that all prejudice and partisan spirit can best be eliminated by reconstructing international labor relations, thus bringing to new problems and a new era activity and coöperation unhampered and unperverted by former alliances or old feuds.

The basis of reconstruction should be the trade union

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movements of the various countries. We recommend that an international labor conference of representatives of the trade union movements of all countries be held at the same time and place as the World Peace Congress that Labor may be in touch with plans under consideration and may have the benefit of information and counsel of those participating in the Congress.

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From the report of the Executive Council to the American Federation of Labor convention held in Buffalo, N. Y., November, 1917.

It was not long after the Baltimore Convention of the American Federation of Labor that it became plain that our country could not long avoid taking part in the European war. The war had become world-wide in scope and involved issues of such a nature that our Republic could not much longer remain neutral.

The Imperial German Government flagrantly imposed upon the neutrality of this country and the unbroken relations of good-will and friendship that had existed between the people of the United States and the German people since the formation of our Republic. When it became plain that the German government intended to trifle ruthlessly with its pledges to our government and with the lives and rights of our citizens, self-respect and appreciation of the rights of our citizens demanded that there should be no receding from our definition of rights and principles.

Under all circumstances it is the duty of any government to protect its people against willful and wholesale murder. A government unable or unwilling to make every sacrifice in maintaining that principle is unworthy the respect and support of the people and should be overthrown.

A people unwilling to make the supreme sacrifice in support of the government which undertakes to make that principle good are undeserving to live and enjoy the privilege of free, democratic government.

The situation in which our country found itself is best set

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forth in that masterly address which President Wilson made to the Congress of the United States in joint session on that memorable April 2, 1917. In addition to the value of the address because of the information it contains we wish to aid in immortalizing it by reproducing it in our report:

Address by the President

Gentlemen of the Congress, I have called the Congress into extraordinary session because there are serious, very serious, choices of policy to be made, and made immediately, which it was neither right nor constitutionally permissible that I should assume the responsibility of making.

On the third of February last I officially laid before you the extraordinary announcement of the Imperial German Government that on and after the first day of February it was its purpose to put aside all restraints of law or of humanity and use its submarines to sink every vessel that sought to approach either the ports of Great Britain and Ireland or the western coasts of Europe or any of the ports controlled by the enemies of Germany within the Mediterranean. That had seemed to be the object of the German submarine warfare earlier in the war, but since April of last year the Imperial Government had somewhat restrained the commanders of its undersea craft in conformity with its promise then given to us that passenger boats should not be sunk and that due warning would be given to all other vessels which its submarines might seek to destroy, when no resistance was offered or escape attempted, and care taken that their crews were given at least a fair chance to save their lives in their open boats. The precautions taken were meager and haphazard enough, as was proved in distressing instance after instance in the progress of the cruel and unmanly business, but a certain degree of restraint was observed. The new policy has swept every restriction aside. Vessels of every kind, whatever their flag, their character, their cargo, their destination, their errand, have been ruthlessly sent to the bottom without warning and without thought of help or mercy for those on board, the vessels of friendly neutrals along with those of belligerents. Even hospital ships and ships carrying relief to the sorely bereaved and stricken people of Belgium, though the latter

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were provided with safe conduct through the prescribed areas by the German government itself and were distinguished by unmistakable marks of identity, have been sunk with the same reckless lack of compassion and of principle.

I was for a little while unable to believe that such things would in fact be done by any government that had hitherto subscribed to the humane practices of civilized nations. International law had its origin in the attempt to set up some law which would be respected and observed upon the seas, where no nation had right of dominion and where lay the free highways of the world. By painful stage after stage has that law been built up, with meager enough results, indeed, after all was accomplished that could be accomplished, but always with a clear view, at least, of what the heart and conscience of mankind demanded. This minimum of right the German government has swept aside under the plea of retaliation and necessity and because it had no weapons which it could use at sea except these which it is impossible to employ as it is employing them without throwing to the winds all scruples of humanity or of respect for the understandings that were supposed to underlie the intercourse of the world. I am not now thinking of the loss of property, immense and serious as that is, but only of the wanton and wholesale destruction of the lives of non-combatants, men, women, and children, engaged in pursuits which have always, even in the darkest periods of modern history, been deemed innocent and legitimate. *Property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent people can not be.* The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind.

It is a warfare against all nations. American ships have been sunk, American lives taken, in ways which it has stirred us very deeply to learn of, but the ships and the people of other neutral and friendly nations have been sunk and overwhelmed in the waters in the same way. There has been no discrimination. The challenge is to all mankind. Each nation must decide for itself how it will meet it. The choice we make for ourselves must be made with a moderation of counsel and a temperateness of judgment befitting our character and our motives as a nation. *We must put excited feeling away. Our motive will not be revenge or the victorious assertion of the physical might of the nation, but*

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only the vindication of right, of human right, of which we are only a single champion.

When I addressed the Congress on the twenty-sixth of February last I thought that it would suffice to assert our neutral rights with arms, our right to use the seas against unlawful interference, our right to keep our people safe against unlawful violence. But armed neutrality, it now appears, is impracticable. Because submarines are in effect outlaws when used as the German submarines have been used against merchant shipping, it is impossible to defend ships against their attacks as the law of nations has assumed that merchantmen would defend themselves against privateers or cruisers, visible craft giving chase upon the open sea. It is common prudence in such circumstances, grim necessity indeed, to endeavor to destroy them before they have shown their own intention. They must be dealt with upon sight, if dealt with at all. The German government denies the right of neutrals to use arms at all within the areas of the sea which it has proscribed, even in the defense of rights which no modern publicist has ever before questioned their right to defend. The intimation is conveyed that the armed guards which we have placed on our merchant ships will be treated as beyond the pale of law and subject to be dealt with as pirates would be. Armed neutrality is ineffectual enough at best; in such circumstances and in the face of such pretensions it is worse than ineffectual; it is likely only to produce what it was meant to prevent; it is practically certain to draw us into the war without either the rights or the effectiveness of belligerents. *There is one choice we can not make, we are incapable of making; we will not choose the path of submission and suffer the most sacred rights of our nation and our people to be ignored or violated. The wrongs against which we now array ourselves are no common wrongs; they cut at the very roots of human life.*

With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step I am taking and of the grave responsibilities which it involves, but in unhesitating obedience to what I deem my constitutional duty, I advise that the Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less than war against the government and people of the United States; that it formally

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accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it; and that it take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defense, but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the government of the German Empire to terms and end the war.

What this will involve is clear. It will involve the utmost practicable coöperation in counsel and action with the governments now at war with Germany, and, as incident to that, the extension to those governments of the most liberal financial credits, in order that our resources may so far as possible be added to theirs. It will involve the organization and mobilization of all the material resources of the country to supply the materials of war and serve the incidental needs of the nation in the most abundant and yet most economical and efficient way possible. It will involve the immediate full equipment of the navy in all respects but particularly in supplying it with the best means of dealing with the enemy's submarines. It will involve the immediate addition to the armed forces of the United States already provided for by law in case of war of at least 500,000 men, who should, in my judgment, be chosen upon the principle of universal liability to service, and also the authorization of subsequent additional increments of equal force so soon as they may be needed and can be handled in training. *It will involve also, of course, the granting of adequate credits to the government, sustained, I hope, so far as they can equitably be sustained by the present generation, by well-conceived taxation.*

I say sustained so far as may be equitable by taxation because it seems to me that it would be most unwise to base the credits which will now be necessary entirely on money borrowed. It is our duty, I most respectfully urge, to protect our people so far as we may against the very serious hardships and evils which would be likely to arise out of the inflation which would be produced by vast loans.

In carrying out the measures by which these things are to be accomplished we must keep constantly in mind the wisdom of interfering as little as possible in our own preparation and in the equipment of our own military forces with the duty—for it will be a very practical duty—of supplying the nations already at war with Germany with the materials which they

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can obtain only from us or by our assistance. They are in the field and we should help them in every way to be effective there.

I shall take the liberty of suggesting through the several executive departments of the government, for the consideration of your committees, measures for the accomplishment of the several objects I have mentioned. I hope that it will be your pleasure to deal with them as having been framed after very careful thought by the branch of the government upon which the responsibility of conducting the war and safeguarding the nation will most directly fall.

While we do these things, these deeply momentous things, let us be very clear, and make very clear to all the world, what our motives and our objects are. My own thought has not been driven from its habitual and normal course by the unhappy events of the last two months, and I do not believe that the thought of the nation has been altered or clouded by them. I have exactly the same things in mind now that I had in mind when I addressed the Senate on the twenty-second of January last; the same that I had in mind when I addressed the Congress on the third of February and on the twenty-second of February. *Our object now, as then, is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish and autocratic power and to set up amongst the really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and of action as will henceforth ensure the observance of those principles. Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic governments backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their will, not by the will of their people. We have seen the last of neutrality in such circumstances. We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized states.*

We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling towards them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their government acted in entering this war. It was not with their previous knowl-

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edge or approval. It was a war determined upon as wars used to be determined upon in the old, unhappy days when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers and wars were provoked and waged in the interest of dynasties or of little groups of ambitious men who were accustomed to use their fellow men as pawns and tools. Self-governed nations do not fill their neighbor states with spies or set the course of intrigue to bring about some critical posture of affairs which will give them an opportunity to strike and make conquest. Such designs can be successfully worked out only under cover and where no man has the right to ask questions. Cunningly contrived plans of deception or aggression, carried, it may be, from generation to generation, can be worked out and kept from the light only within the privacy of courts or behind the carefully guarded confidences of a narrow and privileged class. They are happily impossible where public opinion commands and insists upon full information concerning all the nation's affairs.

A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations. No autocratic government could be trusted to keep faith within it or observe its covenants. It must be a league of honor, a partnership of opinion. Intrigue would eat its vitals away; the plottings of inner circles who could plan what they would and render account to no one would be a corruption seated at its very heart. Only free peoples can hold their purpose and their honor steady to a common end and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own.

Does not every American feel that assurance has been added to our hope for the future peace of the world by the wonderful and heartening things that have been happening within the last few weeks in Russia? Russia was known by those who knew it best to have been always in fact democratic at heart, in all the vital habits of her thought, in all the intimate relationships of her people that spoke their natural instinct, their habitual attitude towards life. The autocracy that crowned the summit of her political structure, long as it had stood and terrible as was the reality of its power, was not in fact Russian in origin, character, or purpose; and now it has been shaken off and the great, generous Russian people have been added in all their naïve

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majesty and might to the forces that are fighting for freedom in the world, for justice, and for peace. Here is a fit partner for a League of Honor.

One of the things that has served to convince us that the Prussian autocracy was not and could never be our friend is that from the very outset of the present war it has filled our unsuspecting communities and even our offices of government with spies and set criminal intrigues everywhere afoot against our national unity of counsel, our peace within and without, our industries and our commerce. Indeed it is now evident that its spies were here even before the war began; and it is unhappily not a matter of conjecture, but a fact proved in our courts of justice, that the intrigues which have more than once come perilously near to disturbing the peace and dislocating the industries of the country have been carried on at the instigation, with the support, and even under the personal direction of official agents of the Imperial Government accredited to the Government of the United States. Even in checking these things and trying to extirpate them we have sought to put the most generous interpretation possible upon them because we knew that their source lay, not in any hostile feeling or purpose of the German people towards us (who were, no doubt, as ignorant of them as we ourselves were), but only in the selfish designs of a government that did what it pleased and told its people nothing. But they have played their part in serving to convince us at last that that government entertains no real friendship for us and means to act against our peace and security at its convenience. That it means to stir up enemies against us at our very doors the intercepted note to the German Minister at Mexico City is eloquent evidence.

We are accepting this challenge of hostile purpose because we know that in such a government, following such methods, we can never have a friend; and that in the presence of its organized power, always lying in wait to accomplish we know not what purpose, there can be no assured security for the democratic governments of the world. *We are now about to accept gage of battle with this natural foe to liberty and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power. We are glad now that we see the facts with*

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no veil of false pretense about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German peoples included: for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and freedom of nations can make them.

Just because we fight without rancor and without selfish object, seeking nothing for ourselves but what we shall wish to share with all free peoples, we shall, I feel confident, conduct our operations as belligerents without passion and ourselves observe with proud punctilio the principles of right and of fair play we profess to be fighting for.

I have said nothing of the governments allied with the Imperial Government of Germany because they have not made war upon us or challenged us to defend our right and our honor. The Austro-Hungarian Government has, indeed, avowed its unqualified endorsement and acceptance of the reckless and lawless submarine warfare adopted now without disguise by the Imperial German Government, and it has therefore not been possible for this government to receive Count Tarnowski, the Ambassador recently accredited to this government by the Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary; but that government has not actually engaged in warfare against citizens of the United States on the seas, and I take the liberty, for the present at least, of postponing a discussion of our relations with the authorities at Vienna. We enter this war only where we are clearly forced into it because there are no other means of defending our rights.

It will be all the easier for us to conduct ourselves as belligerents in a high spirit of right and fairness because we act without animus, not in enmity towards a people or with the desire to bring any injury or disadvantage upon them, but only in armed opposition to an irresponsible government which has thrown aside all considerations of

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humanity and of right and is running amuck. We are, let me say again, the sincere friends of the German people, and shall desire nothing so much as the early reëstablishment of intimate relations of mutual advantage between us—however hard it may be for them, for the time being, to believe that this is spoken from our hearts. We have borne with their present government through all these bitter months because of that friendship—exercising a patience and forbearance which would otherwise have been impossible. We shall, happily, still have an opportunity to prove that friendship in our daily attitude and actions towards the millions of men and women of German birth and native sympathy who live amongst us and share our life, and we shall be proud to prove it towards all who are in fact loyal to their neighbors and to the government in the hour of test. They are, most of them, as true and loyal Americans as if they had never known any other fealty or allegiance. They will be prompt to stand with us in rebuking and restraining the few who may be of a different mind and purpose. If there should be disloyalty, it will be dealt with with a firm hand of stern repression; but, if it lifts its head at all, it will lift it only here and there and without countenance except from a lawless and malignant few.

It is a distressing and oppressive duty, Gentlemen of the Congress, which I have performed in thus addressing you. There are, it may be, many months of fiery trial and sacrifice ahead of us. It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free. To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth

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and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other.

CONGRESS DECLARES WAR

The Executive Council Report continues:

The Congress of the United States on April 6 passed a resolution declaring war upon the Imperial Government of Germany and directed the President of the United States to employ the armed forces of our country to carry the purposes of the war to a successful end. We made every effort to prevail upon Congress to avoid compulsory military service, but we were not successful, the law having been enacted for the drafting of all available men between the ages of 21 and 30, inclusive.

The necessity for the development of plans for defense of the nation became imperative. The scope of the war was so gigantic and the nature of modern warfare so complex that mobilization of our nation necessitated reorganization of the entire nation from a peace to a war basis. Such plans affect the life and the work of the entire nation. Whether in peace or in war tools are the basic instrumentalities for all creative work. The determination of defense plans was of vital concern to wage-earners. The issues and the consequences were so tremendous that responsible agents had to have ready plans to meet any emergency. It was of vital importance that those immediately affected by these plans should have a voice in their determination. Clearly if wage-earners, as represented in the organized labor movement, remained aloof from all participation in defense activities and preparations, they would have to accept the determination of those outside of, and perhaps hostile to, the labor movement who either had no personal knowledge of the lives and problems of workers or were the active enemies of organized labor. If wage-earners did not take a responsible part in determining our relations to war work that field would be left undisputed to those not immediately concerned in their welfare.

In addition to this plain duty of defending their rights and interests, the radical changes necessary for mobilization afforded opportunity that would either be used by the wage-

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earners in furtherance of human welfare and progress or would be used by the agents of reaction and for the entrenchment of the privileges of wealth.

The only justification for the destruction of war is that the sweeping aside of existing conditions affords opportunity for the establishment of new ideals and conditions based upon broader and truer concepts of human rights.

It was in view of this situation that the Executive Council approved the proposition submitted to them by President Gompers that a conference of the representatives of the national and international trade unions be called at Washington to consider the position which American labor should take toward the war situation. Accordingly, a letter was sent to the representative officials of all national organizations, both those affiliated to the A. F. of L. and those not affiliated, asking them to meet in Washington in the A. F. of L. Building March 12. The E. C. met on March 9 and devoted the following three days of the preparation of a statement to be submitted to the conference for consideration and action. There were present at that conference, in addition to the members of the E. C., 148 representatives of 79 affiliated organizations, 5 unaffiliated organizations, and 5 departments of the A. F. of L. The full list of those present is as follows:

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL—President Samuel Gompers; Secretary, Frank Morrison; Treasurer, John B. Lennon; First Vice-President, James Duncan; Second Vice-President, James O'Connell; Third Vice-President, Joseph F. Valentine; Fourth Vice-President, John R. Alpine; Fifth Vice-President, H. B. Perham; Sixth Vice-President, Frank Duffy; Seventh Vice-President, William Green; Eighth Vice-President, William D. Mahon.

ASBESTOS WORKERS—Jos. A. Mullaney, V. E. McLelland.

BAKERY AND CONFECTIONERY—A. A. Myrup, Chas. F. Hohmann.

BILL POSTERS AND BILLERS—P. F. Murphy, Wm. McCarthy.

BLACKSMITHS—G. C. Van Dornes.

BOILERMAKERS—J. A. Franklin, Chas. F. Scott, A. E. Barksdale.

BOOKBINDERS—A. P. Sovey.

BOOT AND SHOE WORKERS—C. L. Baine, Collis Lovely.

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- BREWERY WORKMEN—A. J. Kugler, Joseph Obergfell,
John Sullivan.
- BRICKLAYERS—Thos. R. Preece.
- BRIDGE AND STRUCTURAL IRON WORKERS—Jos. E. McClory,
Edward Ryan.
- CARMEN, RAILWAY—M. F. Ryan, J. F. McCreery, J. S.
Wilds, R. E. Hamilton.
- CARPENTERS, UNITED BROTHERHOOD—Frank Duffy.
- CARRIAGE, WAGON, AUTOMOBILE WORKERS—Wm. A.
Logan.
- CIGARMAKERS—G. W. Perkins, Samuel Gompers.
- CLERKS, POST OFFICE—Thos. F. Flaherty.
- CLERKS, RAILWAY—Jas. J. Forrester.
- CLERKS, RAILWAY POSTAL—Carl Freeman.
- CLERKS, RETAIL—E. E. Baker.
- COOPERS—Andrew C. Hughes.
- DIAMOND WORKERS—Andries Meyer.
- ELECTRICAL WORKERS—F. J. McNulty, Wm. A. Hogan, W.
S. Godshall, J. J. Purcell, George L. Kelly, J. S.
McDonagh.
- ELEVATOR CONSTRUCTORS—Frank Feeney, Frank Schneider.
- ENGRAVERS, PHOTO—Matthew Woll.
- FIREMEN—Timothy Healy, Newton A. James.
- FUR WORKERS—A. W. Miller.
- GARMENT WORKERS, UNITED—Thos. A. Rickert, B. A.
Larger, Abe Berkson.
- GLASS BOTTLE BLOWERS—John A. Voll, Harry Jenkins,
James Maloney.
- GLASS WORKERS, FLINT—Wm. P. Clark.
- GRANITE CUTTERS—James Duncan.
- HAT AND CAP MAKERS—M. Zuckerman, Max Zaritsky.
- HATTERS—John W. Sculley, Martin Lawlor.
- HODCARRIERS—D. D'Alessandro.
- HORSESHOERS—Hubert S. Marshall, John F. Kane.
- HOTEL AND RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES—Edward Flore.
- IRON, TIN AND STEEL WORKERS—John Williams., M. F.
Tighe.
- JEWELRY WORKERS—Julius Birnbaum, Abraham Green-
stein.
- LACE OPERATIVES—David L. Gould.
- LATHERS, WOOD, WIRE—Wm. J. McSorley.
- LAUNDRY WORKERS—Harry L. Morrison.

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- LEATHER WORKERS ON HORSE GOODS—W. E. Bryan.
- LONGSHOREMEN—Anthony J. Chlopek, Wm. F. Dempsey.
- MACHINISTS—Wm. H. Johnston, Fred. Hewitt, E. L. Tucker, A. E. Holder.
- MAINTENANCE OF WAY EMPLOYEES—Allan E. Barker, Henry Irwin.
- MASTERS, MATES AND PILOTS—J. H. Pruett, Ulster Davis, Alfred B. Devlin, Robert S. Lavender.
- MEAT CUTTERS AND BUTCHER WORKMEN—Homer D. Call.
- METAL POLISHERS—W. W. Britton.
- METAL WORKERS, SHEET—John J. Hynes, O. E. Hoard, Harry H. Stewart.
- MINE WORKERS, UNITED—Wm. Green, Van Bittner, Wm. Diamond.
- MOLDERS, IRON—John P. Frey.
- MUSICIANS—Jos. N. Weber, J. E. Birdsell.
- PAINTERS—Geo. F. Hedrick, J. C. Skemp.
- PATTERN MAKERS—James Wilson, James L. Gernon, A. J. Berres.
- PAVING CUTTERS—Carl Bergstrom.
- PLASTERERS, OPERATIVE—E. J. McGivern, Chas. Smith.
- PLATE PRINTERS—Jas. E. Goodyear, William G. Holder.
- PLUMBERS—John R. Alpine, Wm. J. Spencer, Wm. J. Tracy.
- POTTERS, OPERATIVE—Edward Menge, Frank H. Hutchins, John T. Wood, S. M. Moore.
- PRINT CUTTERS—Ralph T. Holman.
- PRINTING PRESSMEN—Jos. C. Orr, Henry J. Hardy.
- QUARRY WORKERS—Fred W. Suitor.
- RAILWAY EMPLOYEES, STREET AND ELECTRIC—W. D. Mahon.
- ROOFERS, COMPOSITION—J. T. Hurley.
- SEAMEN'S UNION—Andrew Furuseth, V. A. Olander.
- SIGNALMEN, RAILROAD—A. E. Adams.
- STEEL PLATE TRANSFERRERS—Benj. Goldsworthy.
- STAGE EMPLOYEES, THEATRICAL—Chas. C. Shay.
- STEAM SHOVEL AND DREDGEMEN—T. J. Brady.
- STEREOTYPER AND ELECTROTYPER—James S. Briggs.
- STONECUTTERS—Sam Griggs, Walter W. Drayer.
- SWITCHMEN—S. E. Heberling.
- TAILORS—Thos. Sweeney.
- TEACHERS—Chas. B. Stillman.

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TEAMSTERS—Daniel J. Tobin, P. H. Jennings.
TELEGRAPHERS, RAILROAD—H. B. Perham, J. F. Miller.
TEXTILE WORKERS—John Golden.
TOBACCO WORKERS—A. McAndrew, E. Lewis Evans.
TUNNEL AND SUBWAY CONSTRUCTORS—Michael J. Carraher,
Tito Pacelli.
UPHOLSTERERS—Jas. H. Hatch, John Hanley.
WEAVERS, AMERICAN WIRE—John F. Curley.
WHITE RATS ACTORS—Jack Hayden.

Unaffiliated Organizations.

LOCOMOTIVE FIREMEN AND ENGINEMEN—W. S. Carter.
RAILWAY TRAINMEN—W. G. Lee.
RAILWAY CONDUCTORS—L. E. Sheppard.
LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS—W. S. Stone.
NATIONAL WINDOW GLASS WORKERS—Herbert Thomas.

A. F. of L. Department

BUILDING TRADES DEPARTMENT—John Donlin.
METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT—A. J. Berres.
MINING DEPARTMENT—James Lord.
RAILROAD EMPLOYEES DEPARTMENT—A. O. Wharton.
UNION LABEL TRADES DEPARTMENT—J. W. Hays.

The declaration was submitted to the conference. A spirit of intense seriousness pervaded the deliberations. The representatives of the workers in practically every trade had encountered new situations developing out of defense measures that made them realize the nearness of war and its consequence to the labor movement. (The declaration is published separately in this volume.)

From the report of the Committee on International Relations to the American Federation of Labor convention held in Buffalo, N. Y., November, 1917:

Your committee having under consideration subjects referred to it, begs leave to report under the caption, "International Labor Relations," of the Executive Council's Report:

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We hold and declare that no movement can properly function, regardless of whether it be economic, social or political, in the absence of free speech, free press and the constitutional rights of the people to exercise self-government.

After all, democracy is the first essential in the lives of the peoples of all nations. No movement of any nature can properly function without freedom of action and self-government, which are inseparably associated with democracy. The trade union movement, first in importance in the economic field, is necessarily dependent on democracy in the organic form of governments. There was no real trade union movement in Russia, nor can there be in any other country that is burdened with autocracy. Upon these fundamentals rest the successful achievements of human rights, freedom and liberty, economic, social and political justice.

Under this caption, several subjects interesting and of vital importance to our movement and to our country are set forth with accuracy and clearness, and are worthy of the fullest perusal and keenest thought. We urge all delegates and all others to carefully read all that is said on this subject. It particularly refers to the change in Russia from despotism to opportunity for freedom; the declaration of basic principles and policies of the provisional government of Russia and the appointment of a commission by President Wilson to visit Russia on a diplomatic mission on behalf of the Government of the United States.

We note with keen interest the appointment of James Duncan, First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor and President of the Granite Cutters' International Association of America, upon this important commission. We appreciate the action of President Wilson and felicitate the American people upon the wisdom of his selection. Upon this important mission full recognition was given to the trade union movement, to the workers—the masses—and it required one who possessed an intimate basic knowledge of the rise and development of the labor movement of our country, its achievements, its hopes and its aspirations, all of which are possessed to a remarkable degree by our esteemed fellow trade-unionist, Brother Duncan. We moreover congratulate Brother Duncan upon his selection and

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for the eminently successful manner in which he discharged the obligations resting upon him.

We declare that had there been a trade union movement in Russia it would have had a stabilizing force and a far-reaching beneficent effect in the crisis now resting so heavily upon the Russian people. The Russian people have lived for centuries in one of the most brutalized autocracies that has ever disgraced the pages of history; they were denied the right of self-government, the right to congregate for any economic or political purposes, the right to attain an education, and because of these limitations there existed a lack of experience that would have been of priceless value now in stabilizing and maintaining their new-found freedom.

The trade union movement, had it existed in Russia, would have developed discipline and a central power not of an autocratic nature, but a power rather to execute and carry into effect the democratically expressed will of the majority of the people.

We note with the greatest satisfaction the cable messages of fraternity and good will sent to the people and the provisional government of the new Russian democracy by President Gompers and by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Upon the question of conferences held and proposed by the International Federation of Trade Unions and other associations, we shall have more to say under a separate caption. Suffice it at present to say we concur and recommend for endorsement the action of our officers and the Executive Council in connection with these important conferences.

PEACE TERMS

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above captain your committee reports as follows:

There can be no true coöperation from an international standpoint except where the elected and responsible representatives of the workers participate under an agreement which recognizes and safeguards the rights of each nation to fix and declare its own destiny, and yet broad enough, big enough and intelligent enough to submerge selfishness and

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non-essentials to the common good of the workers of all nations.

Peace terms should presage a condition tending to a lasting peace grounded upon conditions that are just, fair and honorable to the peoples of all countries.

We agree with the Executive Council that "The government should be only an instrumentality of the people instead of dominating and actuating their lives," and further, that "This terrific war must wipe out all vestiges of the old concept that the nation belongs to the ruler or government," and moreover, "There is no element in all nations more concerned in the achievements of conditions making for permanent peace between nations than the working people, who constitute the majority of every nation. The future must be constructed upon broader lines than the past. We insist, therefore, that the Government of the United States provide adequate and direct representatives of wage-earners among the plenipotentiaries sent to the Peace Congress, and urge upon the labor movements of other countries to take like action."

The Executive Council offers the following declaration as a basis upon which peace should be negotiated:

1. The combination of the free peoples of the world in a common covenant for genuine and practical coöperation to secure justice and therefore peace in relations between nations.
2. Governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed.
3. No political or economic restrictions meant to benefit some nations and to cripple or embarrass others.
4. No indemnities or reprisals based upon vindictive purposes or deliberate desire to injure, but to right manifest wrongs.
5. Recognition of the rights of small nations and of the principle, "No people must be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live."
6. No territorial changes or adjustment of power except in furtherance of the welfare of the peoples affected and in furtherance of world peace.

In addition to these basic principles, which are based upon declarations of our President of these United States, there should be incorporated in the treaty that shall constitute the

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guide of nations in the new period and conditions into which we enter at the close of the war the following declarations, fundamental to the best interests of all nations and of vital importance to wage-earners:

1. No article or commodity shall be shipped or delivered in international commerce in the production of which children under the age of 16 have been employed or permitted to work.
2. It shall be declared that the basic workday in industry and commerce shall not exceed eight hours.
3. Involuntary servitude shall not exist except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.
4. Establishment of trial by jury.

Your committee concurs in the foregoing with a clear understanding that it is submitted as a basis upon which peace terms may be negotiated.

In addition to the peace terms which the Executive Council recommended in its report, the following proposal should be incorporated: The governments of the various nations shall exchange labor representatives, according to them the same authority and honor that are given to any other diplomat. Governments have long been accustomed to exchange commercial, industrial and financial representatives, and we submit that this concept ought to be widened to include not only the above-named interests but also those who furnish the human labor energies essential to coördination for production.

One of the paramount facts which clearly stands out, above all others, in this unprecedented world war is that labor is a basic force in producing the materials of civilization and is co-equal with all other essential elements in national life.

It is not only fitting that labor should be given this merited recognition, but no other single policy would contribute more effectually to the democratization of relations between nations, thereby strengthening forces and conditions that make for permanent peace based upon essential human justice.

If a labor conference is held prior to the war's close or prior to a time in which the belligerent nations are to participate in a peace conference, labor would be forced to de-

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clare specific terms presaging the conditions upon which peace should rest; this implies an inadvisable attitude not only for labor but, moreover, for our country as well. Neither American labor nor the American Government should now state the final binding terms of peace. Both, however, can be instrumental and exercise a potential force at the proper and opportune time.

This is a world war in which seventeen nations are allied against the Central Powers. Our government did not start this war. We should not, in the light of present events, call a peace conference or arbitrarily name inflexible peace terms. Such a responsibility rests upon our government and is a prerogative and responsibility it should first assume and exercise.

We concur in the action of the Executive Council in refusing to be led into a premature peace conference, whether emanating from Germany or originating with her sympathizers here or elsewhere, and congratulate it upon its sagacious judgment in refusing to participate or becoming involved in any schemes of this character.

Conditions are changing from day to day and that which appeals to our judgment to-day as proper fundamental peace terms may be changed over night.

Genuine democracy, the great issue now in war, had no lodgment in the minds and hearts of those who started this war; neither was it an appreciable issue until made so by our entrance into the war. Other sound principles may develop, which we should like later to make one of the basic principles upon which peace should be declared.

When a peace conference is held it should be at a time and place when and where the workers of the vanquished as well as those of the triumphant countries may participate upon an equality, in order that the best interests of labor and of the trade union movement may be fully promoted.

When victory is achieved none will be quicker to extend the fraternal hand of trade union fellowship to the organized workers in all countries now at war, or will do so more heartily than will the American Federation of Labor.

In connection with this subject we call special attention to the November issue of the *American Federationist*, which contains much interesting and instructive correspondence.

The San Francisco convention of the American Federa-

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tion of Labor in adopting a part of the report of the Committee on International Labor Relations, instructed the Executive Council to call a labor peace conference of all nations at the time and place the peace conference is held by the belligerent nations, and authorized the Executive Council to send two delegates, one of whom should be the President of the American Federation of Labor. This action was reaffirmed at the Baltimore convention in 1916.

Your committee recommends that that action be again reaffirmed with the addition that at least five delegates, one of whom shall be the President of the American Federation of Labor, be selected to participate in this conference.

From the report of the Committee on Resolutions which was adopted by the Convention:

Resolution No. 150—By Delegate G. W. Perkins of the Cigar Makers' International Union:

WHEREAS, At no time in the history of the labor movement have conditions been more fraught with dangerous situations than at present, this because of our entrance into the world's war; and

WHEREAS, The slightest misstep or mistake in commission or omission, or an error in judgment would have placed organized labor in a position that it would take years to overcome. The situation not of our seeking led to conditions over which we had no control, and required strong, clear-sighted and courageous leadership; and

WHEREAS, President Samuel Gompers and the Executive Council proved equal to the occasion, and proved their loyalty to the trade union movement, to labor in general, and to our country as well; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention in regular session assembled fully endorse and concur in the course pursued by President Gompers and the Executive Council in calling a conference of the National and International officers on March 12th, nearly one month before war was declared, and concur in the action taken at that conference at which the representatives of labor declared their unswerving loyalty and fidelity to the labor movement and to our common

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country in peace or in war, and while asserting that insofar as lies within its power labor would suffer none of the successes achieved as a result of years of sacrifice and struggle to be taken away from labor on any pretext, and while hoping for an honorable peace, they declared that if our country were drawn into the maelstrom we would stand squarely behind the administration and our country, and urged that all members of organized labor do likewise. Moreover, we unreservedly endorse the action of President Gompers and the Executive Council in all of their actions in connection with the war and all other labor men in accepting positions of trust upon boards, commissions and committees, and declare that in their so doing the best interests of organized labor have been advanced, safeguarded and protected.

Your committee has given most careful consideration to all of the matter contained under the caption "Labor and the War." The incorporation of the President's address to Congress was an advisable addition to the official records of this convention. It was, also, most appropriate to incorporate "American Labor's Position in Peace or in War," adopted in Washington, D. C., March 12, 1917.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

From the report of the Executive Council to the American Federation of Labor convention held in St. Paul, Minn., June, 1918.

Since our report to the Buffalo Convention discussion of Labor's international relation has focused around three subjects:

1. Proposals to hold an international labor conference in which representatives from enemy countries should participate, and
2. Discussion of "peace terms."
3. Reconstruction.

In continuation of the discussion of matters of mutual interests at several previous Inter-Allied Labor Conferences, British Labor in January sent invitations to the labor movements of the allied countries to attend an Inter-Allied Labor Conference to be held in London commencing February 20, 1918. The following is the invitation:

LONDON, 16th January, 1918.

DEAR GOMPERS: On behalf of the British Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee and the National Executive of the Labor Party I have the pleasure to send you herewith particulars as to the conditions under which we are calling an Inter-Allied Conference to commence in London on 20th February, 1918.

We trust it will be possible for the American Federation of Labor to be represented; for in addition to considering the British War Aims and any amendments thereto sent in on behalf of the respective countries, there is to be considered the very important question as to whether the time has arrived when we should hold an International Conference.

A third most important question will be the arrange-

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ments to be made for working class representation in connection with any official peace conference. Even if your Federation does not quite agree with the two committees responsible for organizing the Inter-Allied Conference, it would be desirable that your representatives, and especially yourself, were present to put the American point of view.

We have had a request from the American Socialists, but the two committees have decided that your Federation was the only body to be invited to this conference to represent America. I shall esteem it a favor, therefore, if you will give this matter your sympathetic consideration and let me know as early as possible any decision you may reach.

With all good wishes,
Yours sincerely,

ARTHUR HENDERSON.

MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS,
Washington, D. C.

This invitation reached the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor late February 9. The Executive Council was beginning its regular meeting on the following day. It was then too late to send a representative to be in time to attend the London conference, February 20. On February 11, the Council considered the invitation and authorized the President of the American Federation of Labor to send a cablegram expressing regret that owing to lack of time it was impossible to be represented in the Inter-Allied Conference. In accord with that action the following cablegram was sent:

WASHINGTON, February 18, 1918.

ARTHUR HENDERSON,
London.

Your January sixteen letter reached me late Saturday, February nine, and brought to attention Executive Council, American Federation of Labor, in session on eleventh. We regret that circumstances make impossible to be represented in the Inter-Allied Labor Conference, London, February twentieth.

Executive Council in declaration unanimously de-
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clared, "We can not meet with representatives of those who are aligned against us in this world war for freedom, but we hope they will sweep away the barriers which they have raised between us."

All should be advised that any one presuming to represent Labor in America in your conference is simply self-constituted and unrepresentative.

We hope shortly to send delegation of representative workers American labor movement to England and to France.

Please convey our fraternal greetings to the Inter-Allied Labor Conference and assure them that we are pledged and will give our man-power and at least half we have in wealth power in the struggle to secure for the world justice, freedom and democracy.

GOMPERS.

It will be observed that in Mr. Henderson's letter he stated that our Federation was to be the only body to be invited to the conference to represent America. Information had come to us that a group of persons had decided to send one or more representatives to attend the Inter-Allied Labor Conference at London February 20th, and it was for that reason that reference was made in President Gompers' cablegram to the fact that any one presuming to represent Labor of America would be simply self-constituted and unrepresentative.

In addition, there was included in the cablegram sent to Mr. Henderson a statement that a representative from the A. F. of L. would not participate in any discussion or any conference in which representatives of enemy countries took part. It was believed that this fact should be emphasized at that particular time by reason of the declarations of the A. F. of L. upon this point and for the further reason that there were some who in our judgment mistakenly or wrongfully urged such participation. When the war is won, the question of participation in a labor conference in which the representatives of *all* countries participate, can be decided.

Upon the day that the cablegram was sent it was given out in Washington for publication. Some representative of the press in New York cabled the message over to British papers. On the day of the opening of the London confer-

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ence British papers published a garbled cablegram purporting to be sent by the President of the A. F. of L., in which the following sentence had been injected: "American labor believes German influences have inspired the London conference and until this is disproved will avoid the conference."

When the falsehood came to the attention of the Allied Labor Conference in London, the conference directed its Publicity Committee to publish the text of the cablegram as received from President Gompers, and also sent the following cablegram to him:

LONDON, Feb. 25, 1918.

GOMPERS,

American Federation of Labor,
Washington.

Press in this country circulating statement, your alleged authority, that American labor believes German influences inspire the London conference. Nothing appears your telegram to us. We feel sure you will resent gross falsification your message. Apparently part of campaign malicious misrepresentation on part enemies of labor. Trust you will dissociate your federation from statement which is wholly untrue.

ALBERT THOMAS, President.

ARTHUR E. HENDERSON, Secy.

Owing to important official engagements which necessitated absence from Washington, and to official duties that could not be deferred, reply to the telegram could not be made immediately, and in any event it would not be sent or received during the sessions of the conference, for it had already adjourned. However, the following cable reply was made:

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 13, 1918.

ARTHUR HENDERSON,
London.

Your letter January sixteen inviting delegation American Federation of Labor participate in London conference February twenty, reached me February nine. Authority to designate delegates of the American labor

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movement vested in convention American Federation of Labor or in Executive Council during interim.

Executive Council in session February eleven with regret found it impossible to send representatives because insufficient time to reach London.

We cabled this fact and fraternal greetings to Inter-Allied Labor Conference and assurance that American people are united in struggle for world justice and freedom.

American Federation of Labor responsible only for cable sent you by its representatives and not for cablegram garbled in press.

American labor glad to meet with representatives labor movements of allied countries but refuses to meet representatives of the labor movements of enemy countries while they are fighting against democracy and world freedom.

In the gigantic task to destroy autocracy there must be hearty coöperation among workers and we hope nothing will interfere with complete understanding and good-will between workers of America and allied countries.

A delegation representing American labor will shortly visit England and France to encourage, confer and co-operate in furtherance of the cause of labor and world democracy. Am sending identical cablegram to Albert Thomas, France.

SAMUEL GOMPERS.

An identical cablegram was sent to Albert Thomas of France.

The statement was cabled from Great Britain that the Inter-Allied Labor Conference authorized a commission to come to the United States to confer with representatives of the American labor movement in order to clear up misunderstandings and to secure direct information of the views and plans of American labor. According to press reports the commission was to consist of representatives of British, French, Italian and Belgian labor. However, the only official communication received in regard to this commission is the following cablegram from L. Jouhaux, Secretary of the Confédération Générale du Travail:

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PARIS, March 21st, 1918.

GOMPERS,

Washington, D. C.

I desire to make on the part of the working class delegation coming to America, to express to you satisfaction at our meeting soon.

JOUHAUX.

In view of the existing situation, for the purpose of holding conferences with workers of allied countries, of ascertaining conditions both in Great Britain and France; to bring home to our movement this information and to convey the information to our fellow workers of the allied countries of what we were doing in the United States, to convey the message of good will; to bring about a greater degree of coöperation and effective service for the toilers and for our common cause in winning the war, we authorized the creation of a commission of representative workers of the United States to visit both England and France. More particulars of this will be submitted later on in this report.

When it became known in Great Britain and France that an American labor mission was going over, information was cabled across that the departure of the Inter-Allied commission would be deferred at least until conferences were had with the American labor representatives. It is suggested that the entire correspondence on International Labor Relations published in the *American Federationist* be read when this subject is considered.

PEACE TERMS

*From Executive Council report to St. Paul Convention,
June, 1918:*

Since the beginning of the present European war the American Federation of Labor at each convention has adopted declarations dealing with the peace which shall terminate the present war. It is fitting at the present time to gather the various principles that have been declared by

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our conventions into one comprehensive statement representing the peace demands of American Labor.

At the Philadelphia (1914) Convention a resolution was adopted which proposed a World Labor Congress to be held at the same time and place as the Peace Congress that would formulate the peace treaty closing the war.

We reported to the San Francisco (1915) Convention a comprehensive plan for the convocation of such a World Labor Congress, which was approved. This plan was transmitted to the labor movements of *all* countries. Replies were received from many concurring in the suggestion. However, Carl Legien, President of the Federation of Trade Unions of Germany, wrote that in his judgment such a movement would be of doubtful practicability, and the British labor movement withheld endorsement.

For these reasons the Baltimore (1916) Convention adopted as a supplement to the first proposition, that the labor movements of the various countries should prevail upon their national governments to include representatives of Labor in the national delegation which would participate in the World Peace Congress.

These demands are in accord with the fundamental principles of democracy which is the basic issue involved in the war. The labor movement holds that the government should be the agency by which the will of the people is expressed, rather than the agency for controlling them.

The war is requiring tremendous sacrifices of all of the people. Because of their response in defense of principles of freedom, the people have earned the right to wipe out all vestiges of the old idea that the government belongs to or constitutes a "governing class." In determining issues that will vitally affect the lives and welfare of millions of wage-earners, justice requires that they should have direct representation in the agency authorized to make such decisions.

The Buffalo (1917) Convention declared that the following essentially fundamental principles must underlie any peace treaty acceptable to them:

1. A league of the free peoples of the world in a common covenant for genuine and practical coöperation

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to secure justice and therefore peace in relations between nations.

2. No political or economic restrictions meant to benefit some nations and to cripple or embarrass others.

3. No indemnities or reprisals based upon vindictive purposes or deliberate desire to injure, but to right manifest wrongs.

4. Recognition of the rights of small nations and of the principle, "No people must be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live."

5. No territorial changes or adjustment of power except in furtherance of the welfare of the peoples affected and in furtherance of world peace.

In addition to these basic principles which are based upon declarations of our President of these United States, there should be incorporated in the treaty that shall constitute the guide of nations in the new period and conditions into which we enter at the close of the war the following declarations, fundamental to the best interests of all nations and of vital importance to wage-earners:

1. No article or commodity shall be shipped or delivered in international commerce in the production of which children under the age of 16 have been employed or permitted to work.

2. It shall be declared that the basic workday in industry and commerce shall not exceed eight hours.

3. Involuntary servitude shall not exist except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.

4. Establishment of trial by jury.

Because we believe that an effort in advance of the Peace Congress to apply these fundamental principles to concrete problems would result only in hindering and possibly imperiling the work of the representatives in the Peace Congress by limiting the scope and the effectiveness of the negotiator powers of those who may represent the American Government and labor movement, we deem it unwise at this time to formulate concrete declarations in regard to problems that will come before the Peace Congress. In addition, the progress attending the military events will un-

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doubtedly greatly change the problems from time to time.

We are in accord with that program of world peace stated by the President of the United States in his address to Congress on January 8, 1918.

The growth of political institutions is always attendant upon the development of closer and more complicated relations between groups of people. Simple, political institutions existing in simple, social organization have always grown into more adequate institutions, necessary to meet the internal needs and problems of a strong commercial people. A corresponding development had been taking place in relations between nations before the outbreak of war. The industrial and commercial lives of all nations had been closely bound together through world organization of markets, finances, systems of communications and exchange, and agencies for the stimulation and dissemination of information, the inadequacy of then existing international agencies for dealing with international affairs, was fully demonstrated.

International anarchy creates the opportunity for aggression on the part of strong resourceful nations seeking an outlet for unemployed energy and excess of production. Where there are no established agencies or methods for dealing with such aggressors, militarism manifests itself and can be eliminated only when the field of international relations is justly organized. This work of organization will clearly devolve upon a league of nations. Although its work will be fraught with far-reaching consequences such a league can be trusted to institute necessary agencies and methods if it is democratic and humane in character and method. We hold that diplomatic relations between nations must be democratic. In a word, where the human side of life is fully recognized and represented.

Diplomatic representatives of nations ought to be responsible to a representative agency in their government and should be received either by the parliament of the country to which they are accredited or by a representative of the people directly responsible to them.

Under the opportunities created by a league of nations adequate agencies could be established for dealing with all justiciable questions. An administrative body composed of representatives of the principal groups constituting na-

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tional interests should be established to deal with practical problems in a constructive way and thus avert situations that might otherwise result in injustice and war. We have already a more or less indefinite mass of customs known as international law. The present law does not furnish adequate standards to direct international relations. The law could be made more practical and more effective by conferences of representatives of the various peoples to revise, modify, and extend existing regulations.

As the result of experience, particularly as events have been disclosed since the beginning of the war, there has been demonstrated a total lack of effective organization of the forces among the peoples of all the countries to make for the maintenance of international peace and at the same time secure international justice. As an outgrowth of the war, new understandings and conceptions have developed to the causes of war and particularly of the present war; new conceptions of right and of justice and an increased determination to secure and thereafter maintain the peace of the world founded upon a higher morale of the peoples of the world. There can be no question as to the final outcome of this world struggle. Autocracy, militarism, and its most dangerous supporting weapon, irresponsible diplomacy, must perish. Democracy, justice, freedom and absolute confidence between governments and peoples must be established and triumph. There is no doubt but out of the present war the morals and the conduct of the governments of the world must be upon a higher moral plane, and that this fact will make toward the establishment and maintenance of international relations which shall safeguard the peoples of the world in the enjoyment of a much desired permanent peace.

From the report of the Committee on International Labor Relations to the American Federation of Labor convention in St. Paul, Minn., June, 1918.

Your Committee on International Labor Relations has approached all subjects referred to it from the viewpoint of "Win the War for Democracy and Justice." We hold, there can be no true democracy, justice and freedom in the

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economic, social or political field of endeavor under an autocratic form of government, asserting its authority and holding its power by militarism.

Under the caption, International Labor Relations, in the Executive Council's Report, you will find interesting, comprehensive information concerning several important matters, which if they had not been properly handled would have had, in our judgment, a far-reaching, disastrous result upon the present and future welfare of our country's cause, our cause, and the sacred cause of our Allies in this crisis. Chief among these propositions are:

1. Proposals to hold an international labor conference in which representatives from enemy countries should participate, and
2. Discussion of "peace terms."
3. Reconstruction.
4. The invitation made by Arthur Henderson, representing the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress and the National Executive of the British Labor Party, to attend an Inter-Allied Labor Conference to commence in London on February 20, 1918.

The report sets forth that this invitation was received at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor late on February 9, 1918, and at a time which made it impossible for the American Federation of Labor to be represented at the Inter-Allied Conference. In the reply of President Gompers, authorized and forwarded by direction of the Executive Council, A. F. of L., we particularly note this statement:

"We cannot meet with representatives of those who are aligned against us in this world war for freedom, but we hope they will sweep away the barriers which they have raised between us."

We declare the position of the Executive Council in refusing to sit in conference at this time with delegates from countries with which we are at war is logically, morally and absolutely correct. We dare say, it is our judgment that no representatives to a conference of this nature could emerge from either of the Central Powers without the approval and consent of the autocratic rulers of these countries; hence, under such circumstances there could be no true expression of the hopes and the aspirations, and

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the true attitude of the toiling masses in those autocratically ridden, misgoverned, militaristic governments.

Peace Terms

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the caption above the committee reported as follows:

Under this caption, the Council sets forth in detail organized labor's attitude as first expressed at the Philadelphia, 1914, Convention, down to and including the action taken at the Buffalo, 1917, Convention.

At the Philadelphia Convention, the American Federation of Labor proposed that a Peace Congress, composed of representatives of labor of all countries, should meet and give expression to Labor's views of peace treaties, at the time peace terms between nations shall be considered at the close of the war.

At the San Francisco, 1915, Convention, a comprehensive plan for the convocation of such a World Labor Congress was proposed and approved. This plan was forwarded through proper channels to the labor movements of all countries. Mr. Carl Legien, President of the Federation of Trade Unions of Germany, wrote stating that in his judgment such a plan and movement was of doubtful practicability, and the British labor movement withheld endorsement;

At the Baltimore, 1916, Convention, a supplementary plan to the first proposition was proposed and adopted; that is, that the labor movements of the various countries should prevail upon the national governments to include representatives of labor in the National Delegation, which would participate in the World Peace Congress, and at the same time reaffirmed the action taken at the foregoing stated conventions;

At the Buffalo, 1917, Convention, previous actions were reaffirmed and reindorsed and, in addition, more clear-cut and fundamental principles were declared to be in our judgment the basic construction of proper peace terms. These are set forth in the Council's report, and it is unnecessary to repeat them here, except to say that paramount among these recommendations are:

A league of the free peoples of the world in a common

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covenant for genuine and practical coöperation to secure justice and therefore peace in relations between nations.

No political or economic restrictions meant to benefit some nations and to cripple and embarrass others.

Recognition of the rights of small nations and of the principle, "No people must be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live"; and,

"Involuntary servitude shall not exist except as a punishment for crime, where the party shall have been duly convicted,"

and, last but not least,

"Establishment of trial by jury."

Reaffirming and re-asserting former declarations of principles concerning terms of peace, we hold and again reiterate a former declaration, that the terms of peace and the calling of peace conferences primarily rests with our government, and that whatever we may say in this connection is purely an expression of our thoughts and our hopes, and of an advisory character. We cannot refrain from asserting that it is our judgment and belief no just nor lasting peace can be obtained by negotiations until victory is achieved. The universe is horrified over the precipitation of a war that has set the whole world on fire, and there is no question in our minds as to who started the war, and the then hidden, but now public, purposes of the German imperialistic and militaristic government. There can be no real nor permanent peace, such as will safeguard and protect freedom and justice, that is not predicated upon democracy and the rights of the people to self-government. We owe it to ourselves, to our country, and to our Allies, and to the peoples of all civilized countries, to insist upon a peace that shall be grounded upon the triumph of our cause, democracy and justice.

Events in Russia have shown the utter futility of attempting to negotiate peace treaties with the Central Powers as they are now constituted.

Your committee agrees with the Council substantially that "We deem it unwise at this time to formulate concrete declarations in regard to problems that will come before the Peace Congress," and that

"We are in accord with the program of World Peace

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stated by the President of the United States in his address to Congress on January 8, 1918, and moreover,

"That autocracy and militarism and its most dangerous weapon, irresponsible diplomacy, must perish."

Adhering strictly to these principles, we are of the opinion that no permanent peace can be made nor should be made until democracy supplants autocracy, and that a league of nations is established for the purpose of maintaining a just peace for and the protection of small nations.

PROPOSALS OF AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR DELEGATES TO INTER-ALLIED LABOR CONFERENCE

London, September 17, 18, 19, 20, 1918.

We recognize in this World War the conflict between autocratic and democratic institutions; the contest between the principles of self-development through free institutions and that of arbitrary control of government by groups or individuals for selfish ends.

It is therefore essential that the peoples and the governments of all countries should have a full and definite knowledge of the spirit and determination of this Inter-allied Conference, representative of the workers of our respective countries, with reference to the prosecution of the War.

We declare it to be our unqualified determination to do all that lies within our power to assist our allied countries in the marshaling of all of their resources to the end that the armed forces of the Central Powers may be driven from the soil of the nations which they have invaded and now occupy; and, furthermore, that these armed forces shall be opposed so long as they carry out the orders or respond to the control of the militaristic autocratic governments of the Central Powers which now threaten the existence of all self-governing people.

This Conference endorses the fourteen points laid down by President Wilson as conditions upon which peace between the belligerent nations may be established and maintained, as follows:—

1. Open covenants of peace openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

2. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas outside territorial waters alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

3. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic bar-

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riers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to peace and associating itself for its maintenance.

4. Adequate guarantees, given and taken, that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

5. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all Colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the Government whose title is to be determined.

6. The evacuation of all Russian territory, and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest coöperation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy, and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and more than a welcome assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire.

The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their goodwill, of their comprehension of her needs, as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

7. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve, as this will serve, to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is for ever impaired.

8. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly 50 years, should be righted in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

9. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

10. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should

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be accorded the first opportunity of autonomous development.

11. Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated, the occupied territories restored, Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea, and the relations of the several Balkan States to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality, and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan States should be entered into.

12. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

13. An independent Polish state should be erected, which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

14. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

The world is requiring tremendous sacrifices of all the peoples. Because of their response in defense of principles of freedom the peoples have earned the right to wipe out all vestiges of the old idea that the government belongs to or constitutes a "governing class." In determining issues that will vitally affect the lives and welfare of millions of wage earners, justice requires that they should have direct representation in the agencies authorized to make such decisions. We therefore declare that—

In the official delegation from each of the belligerent countries which will formulate the Peace Treaty, the Workers should have direct official representation:

We declare in favor of a World Labor Congress to be held at the same time and place as the Peace Conference that will formulate the Peace Treaty closing the War.

We declare that the following essentially fundamental principles must underlie the Peace Treaty:

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A league of the free peoples of the world in a common covenant for genuine and practical coöperation to secure justice and therefore peace in relations between nations.

No political or economic restrictions meant to benefit some nations and to cripple or embarrass others.

No reprisals based upon purely vindictive purposes, or deliberate desire to injure, but to right manifest wrongs.

Recognition of the rights of small nations and of the principle, "No people must be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live."

No territorial changes or adjustment of power except in furtherance of the welfare of the peoples affected and in furtherance of world peace.

In addition to these basic principles there should be incorporated in the Treaty which shall constitute the guide of nations in the new period and conditions into which we enter at the close of the War, the following declarations fundamental to the best interests of all nations and of vital importance to wage-earners:

That in law and in practice the principle shall be recognized that the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce.

Involuntary servitude shall not exist except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.

The right of free association, free assemblage, free speech and free press shall not be abridged.

That the seamen of the merchant marine shall be guaranteed the right of leaving their vessels when the same are in safe harbor.

No article or commodity shall be shipped or delivered in international commerce in the production of which children under the age of sixteen years have been employed or permitted to work.

It shall be declared that the basic workday in industry and commerce shall not exceed eight hours per day.

Trial by jury should be established.

SAMUEL GOMPERS
JOHN P. FREY
CHARLES L. BAINE
WILLIAM A. BOWEN
EDGAR WALLACE } Delegates

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